



Robert South. D.D.

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MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

Of the late Reverend

Dr. *SOUTH*.

CONTAINING

- I. An Account of his TRAVELS into *Poland*, in the Year 1674.
- II. A True Copy of his (very remarkable) *Last Will and Testament*.
- III. The ORATION spoken at his FUNERAL.
- IV. Three SERMONS. Not inserted in his Works.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for E. CURLL, at the *Dial* and *Bible*
over against *Catherine-Street* in the *Strand*.
M DCC XXI. (Price 5 s.)





In the *South* Isle of WESTMINSTER-ABBY, joining to Dr. *BUSBY*'s, is Erected a very Noble Marble MONUMENT, to the Memory of Dr. *SOUTH*, with his Effigies in a Cumbent Posture, containing the following INSCRIPTION.

Ab hoc haud procul Marmore,
Juxta Præceptoris *BUSBEI* cineres, suos conquiescere voluit
ROBERTUS SOUTH, S. T. P.
Vir Eruditione, Pietate, Moribus antiquis.
Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, deinde *Ædis Christi* Alumnus.
Et post restoratum *CAROLUM*, Magno favente *CLARENDONO*.
Utriusq; in quo sensim adoleverat, Collegii Prebendarius.
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, & florentis, & afflicte, Propugnator assiduus,
Fidei Christianæ Vindex accerrimus.
In Concionibus novo quodam, & planè suo,
Sed illustri, sed admirabili dicendi genere Excellens;
Ut harum rerum peritis dubitandi si locus,
Utrum ingenii acumine, an argumentorum vi,
Utrum Doctrinæ ubertate, an Splendore verborum & pondere præstaret
Hisce certe omnibus simul instructus adjumentis
Animos audientium non tenuit tantum, sed percussit, inflammavit.
Erat ille humaniorum Literarum, & Primævæ Theologiæ cum paucis Sciens.
In Scholasticorum interim Scriptis idem versatissimus;
E quibus quod sanum est, & succulentum expressit,
Idq; à rerum futilium disquisitione, & Vocabulorum involucris liberatum
Luculentâ Oratione illustravit.
Si quando vel in rerum, vel in hominum vitia acerbius est investus,
Ne hoc aut partium Studio, aut Naturæ cuidam asperitati tribuatur;
Eam quippe is de rebus omnibus Sententiam apertè protulit,
Quam ex maturo Animi suo Judicio amplexus est:
Et cum esset Ipse suæ Integritatis conscius,
Quicquid in Vitâ turpe quicquid in Religione fucatum fictumq; viderat,
Illud omne liberrima indignatione commotus profligavit.
His intensus Studiis, huc animo semper agitans
Hominum a consortio, cum esset remotior, auxilio tamen non defuit.
Quàm enim benignum, quàm misericordem in calamitosos animum gesserit,
Largis Muneribus vivens, moriensq; testatus est.

Upon the P E D E S T A L.

Apud *ISLIPAM* Ecclesiæ Sacrarium, & Rectoris Domum de integro extruit.
Ibidem Scholam erudiendis pauperum liberis instituit & dotavit. Literis &
Hic loci, & apud *Ædem Christi* promovendis, *Ædificiis* istius Collegii
Instaurandis, Libras Millenas in numeratis Pecuniis, ter centenas
Circiter Annui redditus ex Testamento reliquit. Pietatis erga Deum, Bene-
volentiæ erga homines Monumenta in eternum mansura.

Obiit, Jul. 8. An. Dom. M DCC XVI. Æt. lxxiii.



PREFACE.

I*T is generally expected that upon Publishing the Posthumous Works of any AUTHOR, some Account should be given of them; therefore the Editor of these Remains of the Learned Dr. SOUTH, thinks himself oblig'd to offer the following Particulars, both for the Reader's Information, and Satisfaction.*

The Letter to Dr. PO'COCKE, from Dr. SOUTH, when in Poland, was communicated to the Gentleman who wrote his LIFE, which is all that I can say as to that Piece.

The Three SERMONS were given by Dr. SOUTH himself, to Dr. ALDRICH late Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford.

P R E F A C E.

As to the first of them, That upon the 30th of January, it was Preach'd at Court, and from some Passages in it, I think it is pretty plain that it must have been soon after the Restauration of his most Sacred Majesty King CHARLES the Second. This Discourse, was Printed some Years ago; but besides a large Paragraph which is enclosed between Crotchets in the 5th Page, there are many considerable Amendments and Corrections throughout.

The second, intituled, Ecclesiastical Constitutions to be strictly Maintain'd, has been lately publish'd, but from so Imperfect a Copy, that there is not one single Paragraph in it truly Printed.

The Third, upon A Future Judgment, was preach'd at St. Mary's Church in Oxford; and from a Passage in it, and by the Conclusion, it is apparent that it must have been compos'd for the Anniversary of the ROYAL MARTYR.

To Conclude, it is thought most proper to print the AUTHOR'S Latin Performances in a Volume by themselves; they are now in the Press, and will be speedily publish'd, under the following Title.

P R E F A C E.

ORATIONES in Theatro Sheldoniano & Domo Convocationis Oxonii habitæ à Roberto South, A. M. Academia Publico Oratore. Quibus addita sunt Carmina quædam Miscellanea.

P. S. Since the Finishing of this Work, the following *Verses* were communicated to us, they are taken out of the *University Book*, made upon the *Restoration* of his most Sacred Majesty King CHARLES the Second. Printed at Oxford, in the Year 1660, under this Title, *BRITANNIA REDIVIVA*, in 4to.

Those that are Curious to see the Doctor's *Verses* upon the PEACE made with the DUTCH in 1654, and his *Poem* intituled *MUSICA INCANTANS*, mention'd in the 5th and 19th Pages of his LIFE, may find them both inserted among a very good Collection of *Latin POEMS*, intituled, *MUSÆ BRITANNICÆ, è Poematis varii Argumenti, vel Hactenus ineditis, vel Sparsim Editis & Rarissimis constantes*. By the most Eminent Hands, viz. Mr. Norris of Bemerton, Mr. John Philips, late Student of Christ-Church, Mr. Holdsworth of Magd. Coll. Oxon. Mr. Hill, Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb, &c. 8vo, Printed by E. Curll, Anno. 1711.

B R I-

BRITANNIA REDIVIVA.

Iure & Amore Tui modo Spes, nunc gloria Regni,
Qui regnando refers Numen, & esse probas.
Laudibus & Titulis major, majorque Superbis
Principibus, Solo denique Patre minor.
Maxime Rex, sed adhuc vir Major: en accipe honores,
Quos tu Regales accipiendo facis.
Regna patent, & Corda patent, sed latius ista:
Omnia Tu, præter gaudia nostra Regis.
Sol novus exoriens quam claro manè refulges,
Occasu rubuit dum Prior ille suo.
Rex uni Genti, sed Donum missus es Orbi,
Hinc in tam multis Gentibus exul eras.
Sors tua Te Gallos divisit, & inter Iberos:
Pluribus ut Regnis Te, populisque daret.
Dum se interposuit Regnum Quinquenne Neronis,
Opposita ornabat proximitate tuum.
Sanguinei, Tua grata magis, post Sceptra Tyranni
Sic infert festos Litera Rubra dies.
Quæ rerum facies! viduam dum CAROLUS Urbem
Intrat, Splendoris pars quoto Pompa fuit!
O quàm plena dies lacrymis sine luctibus! illum
Sole vidente quidem, non faciente Diem.
Quis sine caede prius tot strictos viderat Enses?
Quisve sine effuso sanguine Victor erat?
Cum modo utramque manum comitanti fratre venires
CAROLE, visa mihi est utraq; Dextra manus.
Mercurium & Martem medio Jove vidimus: Omen
Terna solent faustum Sydera juncta dare.
Dicitur Alcides bis sex subiisse labores
Exul: totque Annos CAROLUS exul agit.
Iamque Duodecimum peragit feliciter Annum,
Ultimus huic pariter sit precor iste labor.
Exilii spatiis regnum mensuret: & Exul
Quem modo lustrabat, jam regat ille globum.

Rob. South, A. M. ex Æde Christi.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and WRITINGS

OF

Dr. Robert South,

Late Prebendary of *Westminster*, Canon of *Christ-Church*, and Rector of *Islip* in the County of *Oxford*.



WHEN Men Crown'd with Age,
and Honour, and worn out with
the Exercise of the most adorable
Vertues go down to the Grave;
When Learning, Piety, Sincerity,
and Courage, with them, seem to
be gather'd to their Fathers, and almost every
one of them, without a due Recognition of their
bright Examples, who gave us their Survey, must
cease to be any more; it would be an act of the
highest Injustice, not to set them in their fairest
Light, that Posterity may look upon them with
the

the same Eyes of Admiration, which the present Age has paid their Regards with ; and that it may not be in the Power of the Teeth of Time to wear out the Impressions, that shall pass undefac'd from one Generation to another.

It is with this View, and only with This, That the Author of these Memoirs, who has long known the value of the Subject he is writing upon, and from thence must be appriz'd of the difficulty of doing it as he ought, takes them in hand ; being not without hopes, that he may in some measure, prevent the many common Biographers, who gather about a dead Corpse, like Ravens about their Prey, and Croak out Insults against their Memory, whilst they either Praise them for Actions they have not done, or load them with Disgrace and Infamy for what they never committed : Inso-much, that (in *Procopius of Casarea's* Words) *their Relations are nothing else but their Interests, delivering down, not what they know, but what they are inclin'd to.*

The same Author likewise very justly observes, *that as Eloquence becomes an Orator, and Fables are proper for Poets, so Truth is that which an Historian, ought chiefly to follow, and have in Regard; therefore my Readers are neither to expect Embellishments of Art, nor Flourishes of Rhetorick.*

*Non tali Auxilio, nec Defensoribus istis
Tempus eget* —————

There

There is no need of such Assistances to support me, while I go through with the Character of a Man, that was arrived at the highest Pitch of Knowledge in the Studies of all manner of Divine and Humane Literature: A Man, who in the Words of the Son of Syrach gave his Mind to the Law of the most High, and was occupied in the Meditation thereof: Who sought out the Wisdom of all the Antients, and who kept the Sayings of the Renowned Men, and where subtle Parables were, there was he also. A Man, who sought out the Secrets of grave Sentences, who served among great Men, and appear'd before Princes: Who Travelled throughout strange Countries, for he had tried the Good and the Evil among Men. In a Word, A Man that gave his Heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and pray'd before the most High. Who was filled with the Spirit of Understanding, and poured out wise Sentences: So that many shall commend his Understanding, and so long as the World endureth, it shall not be blotted out.

May it suffice then that I account for the Birth of this Great Man, in the Year 1633, when the Artifices of wicked and designing Sectarists against the establish'd Government in Church and State, that broke out at last into the Grand Rebellion, made it necessary that so Bright an Assertor of both, as he proved afterwards, should arise. He was the Son of Mr. South, an Eminent Merchant in London, and born at Hackney, of a Mother whose Maiden Name was Berry, descended from the Family of the Ber-

rys in Kent: So that by his Extraction on the one side, which we trace down from the *Souths* of *Kelstone*, and *Keilby* in *Lincolnshire*, (whereof we find one *Sir Francis* of that Name to be the Head) and his Origin on the other much celebrated for the Productions of many Eminent Men, (among whom, *Sir John Berry*, the late Admiral in King *Charles* the Ild's Reign, that commanded the *Gloucester*, wherein King *James* the Ild, then Duke of *York*, had like to have been Shipwreck'd, deserves a Place) he was sufficiently entitled to the Name and Quality of a Gentleman.

In the Year 1647, after he had gone through the first Rudiments of Learning, previous thereunto with uncommon Success, we find him Entred one of the King's Scholars in the College at *Westminster*, where he made himself remarkable the following Year, by Reading the Latin Prayers in the School, on the Day of King *Charles* the Ist's Martyrdom, and praying for his Majesty by Name: So that he was under the Care of Dr. *Richard Busby*, who cultivated and improved so promising a Genius with such Industry and Encouragement, for Four Years, that after the Expiration of that Time, he was admitted *Ann.* 1651. Student of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.

He was Elected with the great Mr. *John Locke*, an equal Ornament of Polite and abstruse Learning. His Studentship, with an allowance of 30 l. per *Ann.*
from

Dr. ROBERT SOUTH.

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from his Mother, and the Countenance of his Relation Dr. *John South* of *New College*, Regius Professor of the Greek Tongue, Chantor of *Salisbury*, and Vicar of *Writtle* in *Essex*, enabled him to obtain those Acquirements, that made him the Admiration and Esteem of the whole University, and drew upon him the Eyes of the best Masters of Humanity and other Studies, by the quick progress he made thro' them.

He took the Degree of Batchelour of Arts, which he completed by his *Determination*, in *Lent* 1654. The same Year he wrote a Latin Copy of Verses, Publish'd in the University Book, set forth to Congratulate the Protector *Oliver Cromwell* upon the Peace then concluded with the *Dutch*; upon which some People have made invidious Reflections, as if contrary to the sentiments he afterwards espoused; but these are to be told, that such Exercises are usually impos'd by the Governors of Colleges upon Batchelors of Arts, and Undergraduates: I shall forbear to be particular in his, as being a forc'd Compliment to the Usurper.

Not but even those discover a certain Unwillingness to act in Favour of that Monster, whom even the inimitable Earl of *Clarendon*, in his History of the Grand Rebellion, distinguishes by the Name and Title of a GLORIOUS VILLAIN.

After he had thus gain'd the Applause of all his Superiors. and by many Lengths outstripp'd most of his Contemporaries, by his well digested and well approv'd Exercises, preparatory thereunto, he proceeded to the Degree of Master of Arts in *June 1657*, not without some Opposition from Dr. *John Owen*, who suppli'd the Place of Dean of *Christ-Church*, and Officiated as Head of that Royal Foundation, with other Sectaries called Canons, during the Deprivation and Ejection of the Legal and Orthodox Members of the said *Chapter*. This Man (if he deserves the Name of one,) that was guilty of a voluntary Defection from the Church Establish'd, after he had regularly receiv'd Ordination at the Hands of a Protestant Bishop, contrary to the Oaths he had taken to his Rightful and Lawful Prince, and his Obedience that was due to the Canons of the Church) was one of the Earliest of the Clergy who join'd with the Rebels in Parliament assembled, that dethroned their natural Liege Lord and King, and alter'd the Form of Government in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, and in Recompence of his Zeal for that End, after the Martyrdom of his Royal Sovereign, had been gifted with this undeserv'd Promotion. In Gratitude for which, if that word may be applied to Creatures divested of all Qualities that point towards the least Symptoms of Humanity, he thought himself obliged to bestir himself heartily for what was then called the *Good Old Cause*, against all those who should swerve or deviate from it, especially such as should be found Peccant against the Orders of the *Directory*, and should

should be, Unwarrantably, according to pretended Laws then in being, found in Episcopal Meetings, making use of the Common Prayer.

Among these, was this our Candidate, for the Degree of Master of Arts, being excited thereunto, by the Example of Mr. *John Fell*, of the same College with him, but of much longer standing, and ejected by the Commissioners authorized thereunto, from the Council of State; and was caught in the very Act of Worshipping God after the Manner and Form of the *Church of England*: Whereupon, Dr. *Owen*, who was then Vice-Chancellor, and had been invested with that Character some years before, was pleas'd to express himself very severely, and after threatening him with Expulsion, if he should be guilty of the like Practises again, to tell him that He could do no less in Gratitude to his Highness the Protector, and his other great Friends who had thought him worthy of the Dignities he then stood possess'd of. To which Mr. South made this grave, but very smart Reply. 'Gratitude among Friends, is like Credit amongst Tradesmen, it keeps Business up, and maintains the Correspondence: And we pay not so much out of a Principle that we ought to discharge our Debts, as to secure our selves a Place to be Trusted another Time; and in answer to the Doctor's making use of the Protector's and his other Great Friends Names, said, Common Wealths put a value upon MEN, as well as MONEY, and we are forc'd to take them both, not by WEIGHT, but according as they are pleas'd to STAMP them, and at

the Current Rate of the Coin, by which he exasperated him two different ways, and made him his Enemy ever after ; as he verified his own Sayings, which were frequently applied by him to his Fellow Students, *viz.* “ That few People have “ the Wisdom to like *Reproofs* that would do them “ *Good*, better than *Praises* that do them Hurt.

But tho’ the Doctor did what he could to shew his Resentment by Virtue of his Office, the majority of those in whose Power it was to give him the Degree he had regularly waited the usual Terms for, was an over-match to all opposition, and he had it confer’d on him. This enabled him some time after to pay the Doctor in his own Coin, and to let him know, that he likewise was not without a Will to use Means when they were put into his Hands, for requiting an Injury ; and notwithstanding he could readily *forgive*, could not *forget* an ill Turn. For when this Vice-Chancellor took upon him to stand as Candidate to serve in Parliament for the University, and in order thereunto had renounced his Holy Orders, that he might the more easily gain his Purpose, Mr. *South* so manag’d Matters with the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Masters of Arts, the Electors, that he was very difficultly return’d, and after a few Days Sitting in the House, had his Election declared Null and Void, because his Renunciation was not reputed Valid.

This puts me in mind of another Story, which Dr. *South* told a Friend of mine, concerning the

the said *Owen*, who at his being soon after remov'd from his Place of Vice-Chancellor, by the Chancellor *Richard*, Son of *Oliver Cromwell*, and from the Pulpit of *St. Mary's*, which was cleans'd of him, and the Rebel *Goodwin*, President of *St. Mary Magdalen's College* at one and the same time, cryed out, *I have built Seats at Mary's, let the Doctors find Auditors, for I will preach at Peter's*; thereby insinuating, that none but he could have full Congregations. Tho' whatever were his Thoughts of the Affections of those who were misled by his Doctrines, the very self same opiniative Man found himself very much out in his Conjectures of abiding at *Christ-Church*, or of Preaching at *St. Peter's* long, for he was ejected from his Deanery, at the latter end of the Year, 1659, by the Government, that was then paving the way for the Restoration of the King and Royal Family; and soon after succeeded by Dr. *John Fell*, who first was Installed Canon of *Christ-Church*, in the room of *Ralph Button*, M. A. and formerly of *Merton College*, by the Commissioners appointed by the King, Mr. *South* having the Orator's Place of the University of *Oxford*, vacant by the Dismission of the said *Button*.

This brings me to a second Digression, which the Reader's Patience (it is hoped) will forgive, for its brevity. Mr. *Anthony à Wood* the famous *Antiquary*, in his *Athena Oxonienses*, gives us to understand, that this *Ralph Button* at his Election into his Fellowship of *Merton College*, which he gain'd solely by

by his Merit, while others that were chosen with him, obtain'd theirs by Favour, and the Custom of Seniority, gave occasion for a notable Pun made by Dr. *Prideaux*, then Rector of *Exeter* College, who said, *That all that were Elected besides him, were not worth a BUTTON.* The said Gentleman, afterwards succeeded to a Canonry of *Christ-Church*, in the room of the Learned and Pious Dr. *Henry Hammond*, who was removed by the Iniquity of the Times, and at his own Ejection afterwards by the Commissioners appointed by the King, upon his Majesty's most happy Restoration, while his Goods were carrying out of Possession, upon hearing the two Bells Ringing for Canonical Prayers in *Christ-Church*, cry'd, *There now go the Mass-Bells, and let those that are affected that way, go to the Church, for, be sure I shall not.* He went from *Oxford* to *Islington*, near *London*, where he continued a Dissenting-Teacher, and a School-Master, till the Year 1680, when he died, and was buried with his Son (who departed this Life at the same time) in *Islington* Church.

In 1659, Mr. *South*, after having been admitted into Holy Orders the Year before, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, (then abolish'd) by a Regular, tho' deprived Bishop, was pitch'd upon to Preach the Assize Sermon before the Judges. For which End, he took his Text from the xth Chapter of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, ver. 33. *Whosoever shall deny me before Men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven.*

ven. This Sermon was called by him, *Interest Deposed, and Truth Restored, &c.* and had this Remarkable Paragraph in it concerning the Teachers of those Days, viz. 'When such Men talk of Self-Denial, and Humility, I cannot but think of Seneca, who praised Poverty, and that very safely, in the midst of his Riches and Gardens, and even exhorted the World to throw away their Gold, perhaps (as one well conjectures) that he might gather it up: So these desire Men to be humble, that they may domineer without opposition. But it is an easie Matter to commend Patience, when there is no danger of any Tryals, to extoll Humility in the midst of Honours, to begin a Fast * after Dinner.

In the Close of the said Sermon, after having applied himself to the Judges, with proper Exhortations that bespoke his Intrepidity of Soul, he address'd himself to the Audience in these words; *If ever it was seasonable to preach Courage in the despised, abused Cause of Christ, it is now, when his Truths are Reformed into Nothing, when the Hands and Hearts of his faithful Ministers are weaken'd, and even broke, and his Worship extirpated in a Mockery, that his Honour may be advanced, well to establish our Hearts in Duty, let us before hand propose to our selves the worst that can happen. Should God in his Judgment suffer England to be transformed into a*

* Very credibly reported to have been done in an Independent Congregation at Oxon.

MUNSTER, should the faithful be every where Massacred, should the Places of Learning be demolish'd, and our Colleges reduced not only (as One † in his Zeal would have it) to THREE, but to NONE: Yet assuredly Hell is worse than all this, and is the Portion of such as deny Christ. Therefore let our Discouragements be what they will, Loss of Places, Loss of Estates, Loss of Life and Relations, yet still this Sentence stands ratified in the Decrees of Heaven. Cursed be the Man that for any of these deserts the Truth, and denies his Lord.

To return to Mr. South, He was not made University Orator till the 10th of August, 1660. after he had Preached a most Excellent Sermon to the King's Commissioners, on the 29th of July, in the same Year, called, *The Scribe Instructed*, from *Matthew xiii. ver. 52.* Therefore every Scribe which is instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven, is like unto a Man that is an Householder, which bringeth forth out of his Treasure Things New and Old; for which he was highly applauded for many Excellent and Sarcastical Expressions against the *Sectarists*, late in Power. Among other Expressions, nothing can be more beautiful and to the Purpose, than when he speaks of the *Qualification* of a SCRIBE in these words.

‘ Qualification, says he, which is an habitual
‘ Preparation, by Study, Exercise, and due Im-

† Unton Croke A Colonel in the Army, the perfidious Cause of Penruddock's Death; and some time after High-Sheriff of Oxfordshire.

'provement of the same. *Powers* act but weak-
 'ly and irregularly, till they are heightned and
 'perfected by their Habits. A well radicated Ha-
 'bit, in a lively vegete Faculty, is like an *Apple*
 'of *Gold in a Picture of Silver*, 'tis Perfection upon
 'Perfection; 'tis a Coat of Mail upon our Armour,
 'and in a word, it is the raising of the Soul, at
 'least one Story higher; for take off but the
 'Wheels, and the Powers in all their Operations
 'will drive but heavily. Now it is not enough to
 'have *Books*, or for a Man to have his Divinity in
 'his Pocket, or upon the Shelf, but he must have
 'Master'd his Notions, 'till they even incorporate
 'into his Mind, so as to be able to produce and
 'wield them upon all Occasions; and not when a
 'Difficulty is propos'd, and a Performance enjoyn-
 'ed, to say, That *he will consult such and such*
 '*Authors*. For this is not to be a Divine, who is
 'rather to be a *Walking Library*, than a *Walking*
 '*Index*. As to go no farther than the Similitude
 'in the Text, we should not account him a good
 'and generous Housekeeper, who should not have
 'always something of standing Provision by him,
 'so as never to be surprized, but that he should
 'still be found able to *Treat* his Friend, at least,
 'though perhaps not always presently to *Feast*
 'him. So the Scribe here spoken of, should have
 'an inward, lasting Fulness and Sufficiency to
 'Support and bear him up, especially when pre-
 'sent Performance urges, and actual Preparation
 'can be but short. Thus it is not the Oil in the
 'Wick, but in the *Vessel* which must feed the Lamp.
 'The

‘ The former indeed may cause a *present Blaze*, but
‘ it is the latter which must *give a lasting Light*. It
‘ is not the *spending Money* a Man has in his Pocket,
‘ but his *Hoards* in the *Chest*, or in the *Bank*, which
‘ must make him Rich. A dying Man has his Breath
‘ in his Nostrils, but to have it in the Lungs, is that
‘ which must preserve Life. Nor will it suffice to
‘ have raked up a few Notions here and there, or
‘ to rally all one’s little utmost into one Discourse,
‘ which can constitute a Divine, or give a Man
‘ Stock enough to set up with; any more than a
‘ Soldier who had filled his Snap-sack, should there-
‘ upon set up for keeping House. No, a Man
‘ would then quickly be drained, his short Stock
‘ would serve but for one Meeting in Ordinary
‘ Converse, and he would be in danger of meeting
‘ with the same Company twice. And therefore there
‘ must be Store, Plenty, and a Treasure, lest he
‘ turn Broker in Divinity, and having run the
‘ Round of a beaten, exhausted Common-Place,
‘ be forced to stand still, or go the same Round
‘ over again; pretending to his Auditors, that it
‘ is profitable for them to hear the same Truths
‘ often inculcated to them; though I humbly con-
‘ ceive, that to inculcate the same Truths, is not
‘ of necessity to repeat the same Words. And
‘ therefore to avoid such beggerly Pretences, there
‘ must be habitual Preparation to the Work we are
‘ now speaking of.

Again,

Again, speaking of the Malignants in the Times of the same unnatural Rebellion, he says, ' There was no saving of Life with those Men, without ' Purging away the Estate.

Then, describing the Teachers of those Days; he declares That, ' First of all they seize upon ' some Text; from whence they *draw* something ' (which they call Doctrine) and well may it be ' said to be *drawn* from the Words; for as much as ' it seldom naturally *flows* or *results* from them. In ' the next place, being thus provided, they *Branch* it ' into several Heads, perhaps, Twenty, or Thirty, ' or upwards. Whereupon, for the Prosecution ' of these, they repair to some Trusty Concor- ' dance, which never *fails* them; and by the Help ' of that, they range six or seven Scriptures under ' each Head: Which Scriptures they prosecute one ' by one: *First* amplifying and enlarging upon ' one, for some considerable Time, till they have ' spoiled it; and then, that being done, they pass ' to another, *which in its turn*; suffers accordingly. ' And these impertinent and unpremeditated En- ' largements they look upon as the *Motions; Effects* ' *and Breathings of the Spirit*, and therefore much ' beyond those *Carnal Ordinances of Sense and Rea- son*, supported by Industry and Study; and this ' they call a *saving way of Preaching*, as it must be ' confess'd to be a way to save much Labour, and ' nothing else, that I know of, *Ibid.*

Some

Some Time after this, *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, in Consideration of a Speech spoken by him, which you will find in the Posthumous Works hereunto annexed, at his Investiture into the last High Dignity, did him the Honour of taking him for his Domestick Chaplain, whereby he was in the Road to Church Preferments, and was Installed Prebendary of *St. Peter's Westminster*, *March* 30, 1663. He likewise, by Vertue of a Letter from, and the Desire of the said Earl his Patron, stood Candidate for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, on the 1st of *October* in the same Year; and obtain'd it by a Majority of the Convocation House, though strenuous opposition was made against the Grant of that Favour by the Bachelors of Divinity, and Masters of Arts, who were against such a Concession, by reason that he was a Master of Arts but of six Years standing; after a Scrutiny, it being accordingly pronounced granted, by the Senior Proctor *Nathaniel Crew*, M. A. Fellow of *Lincoln* College, and now Lord Bishop of *Durham*. In consequence of which, by the double Presentation of Dr. *John Wallis*, Savilian Professor of Geometry, he was instantly, first admitted Bachelor, then Doctor in Divinity.

Much about the same time, the Doctor was made Choice of to Preach a Sermon at the Consecration of a Chapel, in the Preface to which are these remarkable Expressions, ' After the happy Expiration
' tion

' tion of those Times, which had *reform'd* so ma-
 ' ny Churches to the Ground, and in which Men
 ' used to express their Honour to God, and their
 ' Allegiance to their Prince, the same way, demo-
 ' lishing the Palaces of the one, and the Temples of
 ' the other, it is now our Glory and Felicity, that
 ' God has changed Men's Tempers with the Times,
 ' and made a Spirit of *Building* succeed a Spirit of
 ' *Pulling down*, by a Miraculous Revolution; redu-
 ' cing many from the Head of a triumphant Re-
 ' bellion, to their old Condition of *Masons, Smiths,*
 ' and *Carpenters*, that in this Capacity they might
 ' repair, what as Colonels and Captains they had
 ' ruin'd and defac'd.

' But still it is strange to see any Ecclesiastical
 ' Pile, not by Ecclesiastical Cost and Influence ri-
 ' sing above Ground, especially in an Age in which
 ' Men's Mouths are open against the Church, but
 ' their Hands are shut towards it; An Age in which
 ' respecting the Generality of Men, we might as
 ' soon expect *Stones to be made Bread*, as to be
 ' made *Churches*. But the more Epidemical and
 ' prevailing this Evil is, the more Honourable are
 ' those who stand and shine as Exceptions from the
 ' Common Practice; and may such Places, built for
 ' the Divine Worship, derive an Honour and a
 ' Blessing upon the Head of the Builders, as great
 ' and lasting, as the Curse and Infamy that never
 ' fails to rest upon the sacrilegious Violators of
 ' them, and a greater, I am sure, I need not, I can-
 ' not wish.

On the 29th of the Month of *December*, 1670, the Doctor was installed a Canon of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, being the Fifth rightful Incumbent of the Third Stall, ever since the Foundation in 1549, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Richard Gardiner*, at the Request of whose Executors, he wrote the following Epitaph, which is to be seen in the *Dormitory* on the *North* side of that Cathedral Church.

H. S. I.

Venerabilis Vir

Ricardus Gardiner, S. T. P.

Ecclesia hujus primum alumnus,

Dein Canonicus.

Quo in Munere

Cum diu se magna cum Laude exercuit,

Majore eodem cessit :

Fanaticorum Furoribus, Fortunis omnibus Exutus

Ut fidem quam Deo & Principi obligaverat

Illibatam retineret.

Postliminio haud tandem restitutus,

Eadem Constantia qua ereptas spreverat opes,

Contemnebat affluentes

Munificentia siquidem perenni,

Et Aqueductus quem hic loci struxerat æmula,

Ecclesiam hanc

Patriam suam Herefordiam,

Cognatos

Amicos,

Pauperes

Cumulatissime perfudit ;

Demum

Demum

*Meritis juxta & Annis plenus,
Viridi Senecta, Sensibus integris,
Piam animam Deo reddidit;*

Decembr. 20.

Anno Salutis 1670.

Ætatis sue. 79.

I should have observed, before this Period of Time, that the Doctor caused a Poem of his, (entitul'd *Musica Incantans, sive Poema Exprimens Musica Vires, Juvenem in Insaniam adigentis, & Musici inde Periculum,*) to be Printed at the Request of his very good Friend Dr. John Fell, in the Year 1667, tho' written in 1655 when he was Batchelor of Arts, and that this was highly applauded, as the Work of an extraordinary Genius, and a very ready Wit, for the Beauty of its Language, and the Quickness of its Turns; but the Taste of the Present Age being contrary to what it was in those Days, and less given to Flourishes of that Nature, I make it my Choice not to be particular as to any Quotations from it, since the Doctor to his dying Day, has regretted the Publication of it, as a Juvenile and Unmomentary Performance. I should also have acquainted the Reader, that the Doctor was before this, possess'd of 75 l. per Ann. Lands of Inheritance, as of a Copy-hold Estate of Inheritance in the Mannor of *Cantlors* alias *Cantlow*, in *Kentish Town* *Middlesex*, by the Death of his Father, but not being able to account for the year in which he dyed, must ask leave to insert it in this Place.

John Sobieski Grand Marshal of Poland, having been Elected to fill the Throne of that Kingdom on Account of his Great Merits, and notable Atcheivments in War against the Infidels and other Enemies, on the Death of King *Michael Wiefnowiski*, who was suppos'd to have been poisoned by a *Frenchman* at *Zamoisk*, his *Britannick* Majesty, two Years after the said Choice, which was made in 1674. gave Credentials to the Honourable *Lawrence Hyde*, Esq; Son to the late Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, to act as Embassador Extraordinary to compliment that King thereupon, and to make Presents to his New-born Daughter the Princess *Teresa Cunegunda* (now Electress of *Bavaria*) to whom his Majesty had some time before stood Godfather by Proxy. Accordingly Mr. *Hyde*, in Pursuance of his Commission provided himself with a most sumptuous Equipage, and out of his very great respect to Dr. *South*, who had endear'd himself to that Noble Person by being his Tutor, would needs take him with him, in the Quality of his Chaplain; which the Doctor very readily agreed to, being of a very curious and inquisitive Temper, and desirous of being an Eye witness of the Posture of Affairs in other Countries, as well as his own. What Improvements he made by these Inquiries may be best seen by an Account of his, Directed to Dr. *Edward Pococke*, then Regius Professor of Hebrew in *Oxford*, and one of the Canons of *Christ-Church*, who though, of much longer standing than the Doctor by his first Entrance upon that Dignity in the Year 1648, took such a liking to his Conversation, as to hold a most intimate Friendship with him. The said Narrative

runs

runs thus, and is copied from Dr. South's Original Manuscript.

My best Friend, and most Honoured Instructor,

TO keep my Word with you, which I gave at *Corabury* when we last parted, I send herein some Account of my Voyage and Travels, with a few Observations on the Country, Inhabitants, Manners, and Customs of the Kingdom, whereof I have been a cursory, and (I fear) but too curious an Investigator, tho I do it with hope, that you who have so perfect a Knowledge of the *Eastern World* by what you have communicated to Me, concerning the Affairs of the *Turkish Court, Palestine, &c.* will pardon my falling infinitely short of you, in my Description of one of the *Northern Kingdoms*, whereof, your Avocations elsewhere may not have allow'd you the Attainment of so just a Description.

My Lord Embassador set sail from *Portsmouth*, on Board the *Tyger* Man of War, with the *Swallow* in Company, and some Merchant-ships under Convoy, on the 11th of *June* last, and after having stay'd some few days in the Sound, to dispatch Messages with Compliments to the Courts of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, cast Anchor before *Dantzick*, on the 11th of *August*, where he was receiv'd under a Discharge of the Artillery on the Ramparts, and was the next Day conducted to an Audience of the Queen of *Poland*, (who had made a Journey thither, while the King her Husband was in the Field,) wherein he pay'd her Majesty the usual Devoirs in the Name

of his Royal Master, and presented the young Princess her Daughter with a very rich Jewel, and a Cross of Diamonds of great Value.

He afterwards with a very Magnificent Retinue set forward for *Poland*, and was receiv'd by the King in his Camp near *Leopol* in *Russia*, with Demonstrations of Respect and Kindness suitable to his Character and Person, where his Majesty did him the Honour of sending some of his chief Officers to shew him the Army, and their way of Encamping. Having mention'd *Leopol*, which is the Metropolis of the Palatinate of *Russia*, it may not be improper to tell you, that this City is large and well fortified, having two Castles, one within the Walls, and one without, on a rising Ground, which commands the Town, both which, together with the City, were founded by *Leo* Duke of *Russia* about the year 1289. The Archbishop of this See is both Spiritual and Temporal Lord of his Diocese. Here also reside an *Armenian* Archbishop, and a *Russian* Bishop, depending on the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with several Churches belonging to each Bishoprick. The *Armenian* Roman Catholicks have inhabited here, time out of Mind, and are govern'd wholly by their own Prelate, enjoying very great Privileges on Account of the considerable Commerce they maintain with the *Persians* and other *Eastern* People. This City likewise gives great Encouragement to Learned Men, who are very civilly receiv'd by their Academy, which is supplied with Professors from that of *Cracow*; tho' from what I could find from

from those Professors themselves, and the very Bishops too, they had as little Furniture that way in their own Persons, (except an Insight into the Latin Tongue,) as some of the meanest of our *Welsh* Clergy. The Churches here are generally fair and well built, and abound with all kinds of Costly Ornaments.

The Peace being happily concluded to the Advantage of *Poland*, between his Majesty and the *Turks* and *Tartars*, whereof his Excellency Mr. *Hyde* had no small share of the Management: The King return'd in *November* to *Zolkiew* his own Patrimony, which is a Town in *Russia* adorned and defended by a Castle, and intermixed with several delightful Gardens, with a fair Church in the middle of it, built with various sorts of Marble, and whither the Embassador waiting upon him, had his Publick Audience, there, in a most solemn manner. He was first carried in the King's Coach, attended by six of his own, Twenty four Pages and Footmen in rich Liveries, and sixty odd Coaches of the Chief Nobility. When arrived at the Court, he was received by the Chief Marshal (who is in the Nature of a Lord Chamberlain) at the Stairs Foot of the Palace, and conducted to his Majesty, who receiv'd him standing under a Canopy. Whereupon his Excellency deliver'd his Masters Compliments in a Latin* Speech, in which he gave Assurances of the King of *Great*

* This Speech was written in English by Mr. *Hyde*, and turned into Elegant Latin by Dr. South.

Britain's inviolable Attachment to that Prince's Interests, congratulated him upon the last Treaty of Peace, brought to a happy Conclusion with the Infidels, and made Overtures to enter into such Alliances with the Crown and Republick of *Poland*, as should be judg'd most conducive to the Honour and Safety of both Nations.

To this his *Polish* Majesty gave a very agreeable and satisfactory answer, in the same Language, which he had readily *ad Unguem*, and caused the Embassador afterwards to sit down at the same Table with him, where he was attended by the Chief Officers of State standing, it being a Custom in *Poland* to admit none to that Honour but the Princes of the Blood.

This King is a very well spoken Prince, very easy of Access, and extream Civil, having most of the Qualities requisite to form a compleat Gentleman. He is not only well versed in all Military Affairs, but likewise through the means of a *French* Education, very opulently stored with all polite and Scholastical Learning. Besides his own Tongue the *Sclavonian*, he understands the *Latin*, *French*, *Italian*, *German*, and *Turkish* Languages: He delights much in Natural History, and in all the parts of Physick; He is wont to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting the Modern Philosophy, such as *LeGrand's* and *Cartesius's* into the Universities and Schools; and loves to hear People Discourse of those Matters, and has a particular Talent to set People about him

him very Artfully by the Ears, that by their Disputes he might be directed, as it hapned once or twice during this Embassy; where he shew'd a Poignancy of Wit on the subject of a Dispute held between the Bishop of *Posen*, and Father *de la Motte* a Jesuit, and his Majesty's Confessor, that gave me an extraordinary Opinion of his Parts.

As for what relates to his Majesty's Person, he is a Tall and Corpulent Prince, large Fac'd, and full Eyes, and goes always in the same Dress with his Subjects, with his Hair cut round about his Ears like a Monk, and wears a Furr-Cap, but extraordinary rich with Diamonds and Jewels, large Whiskers, and no Neck-cloth. A long Robe hangs down to his Heels, in the fashion of a Coat, and a Waistcoat under that of the same length tied close about the Waste with a Girdle. He never wears any Gloves, and this long Coat is of strong Scarlet Cloth, lin'd in the Winter with rich Furr, but in Summer only with Silk. Instead of Shoes he always wears both Abroad and at Home Turkey-Leather Boots with very thin Soles, and hollow deep Heels made of a Blade of Silver bent Hoop-wise into the Form of a Half-Moon. He carries always a large Scymiter by his side, the Sheath equally flat and broad from the Handle to the Bottom, and curiously set with Diamonds.

His Majesty Married *Mary de la Grange*, Daughter to the Marquis of *Arquien*, sometime after his Accession

to

to the Throne, made Cardinal in Complaisance to his Majesty. This Lady, who was but Ten or Twelve Years old, when she came from *France* into this Kingdom, with *Ladislaus* King of *Poland's* Queen, was at first made Maid of Honour to Her Majesty, being very ingenious and beautiful, and Married to Prince *Zamoiski*, who soon left her a Widow, with a Jointure of about 2000*l.* per *Annum*. She was afterwards Married in *Casimir's* Reign, to this *John Sobieski*, then Captain of the Guards, who was not willing to take her in Wedlock, until the King had promised that he would give him considerable Places; which he accordingly by the perswasion of his Queen did; for he made him Great Marshal, and Great General of *Poland*, which gave him Authority and Interest enough to make himself King, and her Queen; so that this Marriage was the occasion of his Rise in the world; which he was so sensible of, that he refused to be Divorced from her, as the Diet would have perswaded him to do, soon after his Election.

The Queen is now about 33 Years of Age; tho' she appears not to be much above Twenty: She is always attired after the *French* Mode, as all the *Polish* Ladies are, and speaks the *Polish* Language full as well as her own natural Tongue; which with her sweet Temper, refined Sense, and Majestick Air, has since her Accession to the Throne, gain'd her such Affection with the *Poles*, such Influence over the King, and such Interest lately among the Senators,

tors, that she manages all with a great deal of Prudence, and that to the Advantage of her Native Country *France*, who is very much indebted to her for the Backwardness of the *Poles* in taking part with the Emperor, and their forwardness in striking up the late Peace with *Turky*, and its Dependants.

Thus far by way of Remark on the Persons and Accomplishments of their Majesties, and the manner of our Reception at Court. I am in the next Place to take a view of the most Principal Places in this Kingdom, which my Lord Ambassador gave me an opportunity of Surveying, by leaving me behind (at my own Request) after his return into *England*, through *Silesia*, *Austria*, and the Empire, and to give a succinct and faithful Account of their Oeconomy in Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Affairs.

I shall not enter upon a Division of this Great and Wealthy Kingdom, which is branch'd out into Eight distinct Provinces, and these into various Palatinates; neither shall I extend my Observations further than to such Cities and Towns whither my Curiosity led me, as they are Places of Note, and Resorted to as such, by the most knowing and intelligent Travellers. These are, *Cracow*, in upper or lesser *Potland*, its Chief Metropolis, and University; And *Vilna* in *Lithuania*, it's Sister University, (like our *Oxford* and *Cambridge*,) and also *Posen*, *Guesna*, *Lowitz*, *Warsaw*, *Thorn*, *Mariembourg*, and *Danzick*.

To

To begin with the 1. *Cracow* is a famous City, Seated in a spacious Plain near the *Weissel*, by which Merchandizes are Transported to *Dantzick*. It takes its Name from *Cracus*, one of the first Dukes of *Poland*; and considering the Statelines both of its Publick and Private Edifices, and the great Plenty of all manner of Necessaries, it is said to be equal to most Towns of either *Germany* or *Italy*. It is encompassed with a very high Wall, and flank'd round with high Towers, with a broad deep Ditch Walled round likewise, and a stately Castle about a Mile in Circumference, founded on a Rock, near the Banks of the River *Vistula*. It is a large Stone Building, consisting of two Wings, magnificently raised about a square Court, having Galleries supported with Pillars, and Paved with black and white Marble. The King's Apartments, with some others, are adorned with divers curious Paintings and Statues, and the Country round about affords one of the most delightful Prospects in *Europe*. Here is a Cathedral of *St. Stanislaus*, Protector of *Poland*; in which a late Bishop of *Cracow*, *Martin Szyscovi*, Repaired and Beautified his Tomb, which before, had been all of Silver. This *Sigismund* III. and his Son *Uladislaus* VII. (as Pompous Inscriptions tell us) greatly augmented, bestowing on it many Offerings of Gold and Silver Vessels. *Sigismund* I. also, in Honour of this Saint, built a Silver Altar near his Tomb, bestowing on it several Golden Crucifixes, and as many Vestments richly bedeck'd with Gems of all sorts. His Daughter
Anne,

Anne likewise Wife to King *Stephen*, built another Silver Altar in the Chapel of the *Annunciation*, whose Roof is all Gilded, and wherein the Kings of *Poland* are wont to be Interr'd.

This Cathedral is Principally to be noted for its Chapter, and Treasury, and the Bishop of it is Lord over Thirteen Cities, and Prince, that is Commander in Chief, of the Dutchy of *Severia*. His Chapter which consists of about 30 Canons, with several other inferior Priests, having a proportional Provision to his Revenue, which is between 11 and 12000*l.* Sterling per *Annum*; the very lowest Salary of the meanest Ecclesiastick there, being 100*l.* Yearly of our Money. It was first Erected into a Metropolitan See, upon the first Planting of the Christian Religion in *Poland*, by *Miecislavus* I. but within 100 Years after degenerated into a Bishoprick, under the Archbishop of *Guesna*, in Regard that *Lambert Pula* could not be perswaded to receive his Pall from the See of *Rome*; yet upon Submission he was afterwards restored to that Dignity, but which lasted only for his Life, his Successors having been ever since only Bishops.

There are about Fifty other Churches, as well in the Castle as the Town; whereof the most celebrated is that of the Virgin *Mary* in the Circle of *Cracow*, which is Govern'd by an Arch-Presbyter, and fronts Ten large Streets; having moreover on all sides Four Rows of Magnificent Structures.

A University was first begun here by *Casimir* the Great, who came to the Throne in the Year 1333, and Reigned to the Year 1370, and finish'd by *Vladislaus Jagello*, having its Privileges confirm'd soon after by Pope *Urban VI*. However, as the Rector *Mr. Siniamiski* Brother to the Palatine of that Name told me, that the Scholars forsook it in 1549, by Reason that the Magistrates would not do them Justice on some Persons that had murther'd great Numbers of them, and afterwards dispers'd themselves into several parts of *Germany*, and becoming Protestants, spread the *Lutheran* Religion through *Poland*, and gain'd a great Number of *Profelytes*; yet notwithstanding all this, they return'd to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*.

In this University are taught all sorts of Learning (tho' as I take it superficially) and the *Poles* (but I dissent from them) hold it to be as great an Ornament to their Country, as *Athens* was formerly to *Greece*. It contains in all, Eleven Colleges. Fourteen Grammar-Schools are also scattered throughout the City, in which also sometimes University Learning is Taught.

All these Colleges and Schools are Govern'd by a Rector, or Vice-Chancellor, who takes Care that Orders may be duly observed, and Functions rightly Administr'd; which is so great an Encouragement, that there is scarce any Ecclesiastical or Political Dignity in the Kingdom but is filled by Persons

sons that have receiv'd their Education in this University.

In the Monasteries also are Taught both Philosophy, and Divinity : But more especially in that of the *Dominicans* of the *Trinity*, where there are daily Lectures kept, and several kinds of Moral Learning also promoted.

There are likewise several sorts of *Mendicant* Fryars in this City, who upon solemn Feasts, according to the ancient Custom, go in Procession, cloth'd in divers Colours, and are very merry Devotionalists on those Occasions; such as the *Mendicants* of the *Rosary*, of the *Mercy*, of the *Mantle*, of the *Passion*, of the Body of *Christ*, *Saint Sophia*, *Saint Anne*, *Saint Monica*, Names not very agreeable to their unmortified Paunches.

2. *Vilna*, whose Palatine is Chief Governor, is Scituated near the Conflux of the Rivers *Wilna* and *Wiln*, from whence it has its Name, and is a Large and Populous City, Capital of the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and well Fortified with two Castles; whereof one is built in a Plain, and the other on a Hill. Of these two Castles, that on a Hill is very Ancient, and almost Ruin'd; but the other is a Bile of Beautiful Modern Architecture. The Churches here are all of Stone, both those belonging to the *Roman* and *Russian* Perswasions. The Cathedral lies in the lower Castle, wherein is deposited the Body of *St. Casimir*, Canonized by Pope *Leo X.*
in

in a large Silver Tomb of great Value: Here also is a very large Bell, like to one of the same Bigness at *Cracow*, which requires above four and twenty strong Men to Ring it; and within this Castle also, the Metropolitan of *Russia* holds his Archiepiscopal See.

Among other Publick Edifices (most of the Private being very mean ones, and built of Wood, except some few belonging to the Gentry, and Foreign Merchants) is the Great Duke's Palace, in which is a very celebrated Guard-Chamber, furnish'd with all sorts of Arms: And about two English Miles from this City stands another Ducal Palace, Named from its Scituation *Rudnick*, that is, *Near the Water*. This Palace is entirely built of Wood, but most deliciously Beautified and set off with a Pleasant Park, agreeable Gardens, and Fruitful Orchards.

As for the Academy of this City, it was Founded by King *Stephen*, in the Year 1579, and erected into an University by Pope *Gregory XIII.* at the Request of *Valerian*, Bishop of *Vilna*. In this University are Six Professors of *Divinity*, Five of *Philosophy*, Four of *Laws*, and Seven of *Humanity*; which have each of them much greater Salaries, besides other Preferments in the Church and State, than such Bunglers in their respective Arts and Sciences deserve; since many of our Servitors at *Oxford* are better Read, and abler to fill those Chairs than any of them, but the *Sieur Sfroski*, who had acquired
some

some Knowledge in Natural Philosophy, and the Mathematicks, by his Travels into Foreign Parts. However, I found my self under a Necessity of extolling them for their profound Knowledge, and of closing in with every Opinion they at random gave vent to, for the sake of my own Quiet: since their Pride, if any ways mortified by Contradictions from Strangers, pushes them upon unforeseen Extremities; and it's the best and surest way to be of the same Mind with them, if any one takes a good Liking for the security of his Body.

As for other Remarkable Buildings and Observations here, though there are several fair Edifices, I find none more worthy of notice, than a large Beautiful Store-House all of Brick, erected by the *Muscovite* Company for the Repository of their Furrs, Ermins, and other Rich Merchandizes brought from *Moscow*; so that when I have said that it is famous for having Guns of all sorts Cast, and likewise divers other Warlike Instruments of excellent Workmanship, made in it, and the Tribunal of all *Lithuania* is kept there, I have done it more Honour, than all the Scholars I have convers'd with here, barring one or two Exceptions from the General Rule, can do it, by their Excellence in any one sort of Academical Erudition.

Having just parted with their Two Universities, that may, without Impropriety of Expression, be called *Sisters*, from their Affinity in Ignorance, it is but natural to particularize in their Studies,

c

dies, the chief of which is to speak good Latin; for as to all parts of Polite Learning, the *Poles* are not so curious as in other Countries, yet have they a great many that will write tolerably good Verses, for their Genius is mightily bent that way; and besides they are very apt to quote Classick Authors in their Discourse, and this particularly when they get Drunk (a Vice they are too frequently addicted to) and are elevated up to a conceited pitch. Their Poet *Sarbievus Casimir* is no small Ornament to his Country, who in his ODES has endeavour'd to imitate *Horace*, and the Purity of his Language is not contemptible.

I learn'd that Latin came so much in Vogue with them from this Accident. King *Casimir* the Second, and the King of *Sweden* had an Interview at *Dantzick*, wherein the latter with all his Court spoke that Language fluently, but neither *Casimir* nor any of his Attendants could do any thing like it, but were forced to make use of a Poor Monk, whom for that Service his *Polish* Majesty advanced to a Bishoprick, to explain their Sentiments. Of which being heartily ashamed, the King caused great Encouragement to be given to such as would make Latin their Study, which began thenceforward to be much in Practice. So that when King *Sigismund* sent the Bishop of *Varmia* his Embassador to *Vien-na*, his Imperial Majesty was surpriz'd to hear the very *Polish* Coachmen and Postilions very dexterously and fluently explain themselves in that Tongue; which was mightily encouraged also by King *Stephen Bathori*,

Bathori, who is reported often to have said to the Sons of his Attendants, *Discite Latine, nam unum ex vobis aliquando faciam MOSCHI PAN* (a great Lord) which contributed very much to the Increase of Arts and Sciences.

As for Learned Men, though the *Poles* have mightily degenerated in this present Age, they have had several Latin Historians among them, such as *Cromerus*, *Sturavolsius*, &c. who have all written the Annals and Constitutions of their Country. They have likewise been furnished with some Historians, who have written in their own Language. They also have not wanted Learned Divines, Great Philosophers, Famous Astronomers, Logicians, &c. And it is to be remember'd, to the Honour of *Poland*, that the Great Astronomer *Nicolaus Copernicus*, was a Native of *Thorn* in Regal *Prussia*. And the Reason why those Learned Men have not transmitted more of their Works to Posterity, is, that while they liv'd, there was but little or no Printing in this Kingdom, that Art having been but lately receiv'd here.

Yet tho' the *Poles* are so extreamly expert in making and writing Latin, they are not curious in any of the Oriental Tongues. As to other Languages, as the Inhabitants of this Country have the same Origin with the *Muscovites*, *Bohemians*, *Croatians*, *Moravians*, *Silesians*, *Cassabians*, *Bulgarians*, *Rascians*, *Servians*, *Illyrians*, &c. So they have likewise the same Language with them, notwithstanding

standing they differ in Dialects, and are scarce to be understood by each other. Their Terms of Mechanick Arts are chiefly borrow'd from the Ancient *Germans*, who formerly had, as they still have, frequent Intercourses with this Country. Nay there are at present whole Towns and Villages that make use of the *German* Tongue; that Nation having formerly planted several Colonies in this Kingdom. There are also several of the Noble Families here purely *German*, as may appear both by their Names, and their Coats of Arms.

The *Polish* Language, as their Chief Historian *Cromerus* allows, is neither so copious, nor so easie to pronounce, as those of other Nations, but as the *French*, *Italian*, &c. consists chiefly of Vowels, that of *Poland* is made up, in great measure with Consonants; insomuch that you shall sometimes meet with *Polish* Words that have seven or eight Consonants together, without any Vowel, or at most but one or two interposed; an Example of which, Sir, you may have in the Word *Chrzeſzes* (*Scarabeus a Gadflye*) this with others in the *Polish* Tongue, scarce the Natives themselves are able to Pronounce, yet they have always a sort of Lipping sound of Vowels in their Pronunciation, tho' they do not write them.

To return to the Latin Tongue; it must not be understood, how universally soever it is spoken here, that the *Poles* have it from their Mothers, as the Common People have in some parts of *Hungary*; for

for they take Pains to learn it from Masters, as other Nations do. The chief Reason why they generally affect it, is first from their natural Dispositions to learn it. Secondly, by reason of the *Syntax* of their Mother Tongue, the *Sclavonian*, which has great Affinity with that Language; for they both decline their Nouns, and Conjugate their Verbs as the *Romans* did. Thirdly, Because in all the Villages throughout the Nation they have Shoolmasters for that purpose; who are either Rectors of Parishes, or some other qualified Persons appointed by them, or by the Bishop of the Diocese. And Fourthly, because in all Towns of Note, the Jesuites have Colleges set apart to Instruct Youth in that Language.

As to the Study of *Divinity* in *Poland*, those of that Profession, make all their Learning consist in adapting *Aristotle's Logick* and *Metaphysicks* to their School Divinity; so that you may every where hear them talk much of *Entities, Modes, Quidities, Essences* of Things and the like, for they value themselves more in the signification of Logical Terms, than in the Nature of Things themselves which they reason about, *Albertus Magnus* is in great esteem here, and is perpetually quoted to attest the Truth of any Assertion, with as much vehemence as *Aristotle* by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*; tho' as it has been said before, the Natives of this Kingdom have not less respect for this last Philosopher than other Nations have. Yet, notwithstanding they seldom take his meaning right, more especially in Mat-

ters that are ambiguous, for they have Published several large Commentaries upon him ; which besides contradicting each other, like our *Dutch* Annotators, stand in need of Explanations themselves. The *Polish* Divines likewise are seldom well versed in Practical Divinity. They look very little into the Old and New Testament, and make few Enquiries into the Practice of Primitive Christianity, having but a small Insight into Church-History. In a word, they trouble their Heads but seldom about convincing their Reason of the Sublimity and Goodness of the Christian Doctrine, implicit Faith, and Passive Obedience to Council and Church Decisions being entirely their Guides. So that they will allow of no Bodies Search into the Reasonableness of Things, as if they should imagine that a Law or a Doctrine given by God, should not be consistent with Reason. They have also a more than ordinary respect for *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Dun Scotus*, their Principal Erudition consisting in being well Read in the School Points controverted by those two Great Men, how ill soever they are understood.

I could instance in other Arts and Sciences, but those not being of so near a concern to your own Studies, as that of Divinity, I make it my choice to return to the Description of the Towns I have undertaken to give an Account of. The next of which, in the Third Place, is *Posen*, situated on the River *Varta*. It lies in the midst of several Hills, environ'd with a strong double Wall, and a very deep Ditch. The City

City it self, it must be confess'd, is but small, yet nevertheless exceeding Beautiful, and well built; its Edifices, for the most part being of Stone. Among the Publick Structures, the most considerable is the Castle, rais'd upon a small Eminence between the Rivers *Varta* and *Prosna*. It is generally provided with all sorts of Ammunition, and wants for neither Strength nor Beauty. The rest of the Publick Buildings may justly claim the like Character, tho' the most Stately lie on the other side of the River *Varta* in the Suburbs, which are very large. The Cathedral Church, with a College of Prebendaries, and the Bishop's Palace, are situated among the Marshes, and form a Pile of Buildings that is called *Valilovia*, and built so strong, that like the Town, it is able to withstand a Siege. *John Lubransius* a Bishop of this See, Founded a College here, to be visited by that of *Cracom*, and which was afterwards very much augmented and beautified by *Adam Conarius* his Successor; and farther enriched by one *Rosrasevius* with several noble Gifts. So that though the Jesuites have a College in the City, where several sorts of Literature are taught with great encouragement, this also in the Suburbs does not want for Noble Youth, who daily flock thither to be instructed by the Lectures of Mathematicks and Law. These Suburbs are all surrounded by a Morass, and a great Lake. They are frequently laid under Water by the overflowing of the *Varta*, insomuch that sometimes with the Neighbouring Villages for several Miles together, the Tops of the Houses are only to be seen. This

Inundation likewise often extends to the Town it self, notwithstanding its high Walls, in such a manner that Boats have been known to swim about the Streets. But this lasts not long, for the Waters commonly retire in two or three Days at farthest.

The Inhabitants of this City are generally *Roman Catholicks*, tho' vast Numbers of *Jews* live also among them. The Government is executed by a *Starost* chosen yearly out of the *Schipens*, or Aldermen, who as long as this Office lasts, enjoys also the Title of *General of Great Poland*.

Seven Miles from hence lies *Gnesna*, from the *Sclavonian* Word *Gniazdo*, which signifies a *Nest*; which in the Fourth Place, has its Scituation (as most of the Towns in these Parts have) amongst Bogs and Hills. It is an Archbishop's See, and gives Title to the Primate of all *Poland*. This was formerly the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom, having been built by *Lechus*, the first Founder thereof. In the Cathedral is repositied a great Quantity of inestimable Treasure, most of which is owing to the Tomb of St. *Adelbert*, rais'd in the middle of the Church, cased about with Silver, by *Sigismund III.* and the Gifts of *Henry Firlesus* late Archbishop of that Diocese; who among other Rarities, gave his Mitre valued at 2000*l.* Sterling. The Gates opening to this Church are all of *Corinthian* Brass curiously wrought, which were first taken from the Monastery of *Corfuna* in *Taurica Cherfonesus*,

nesius, afterwards removed to *Kiom*, and this brought hither by order of King *Boleslaus II.*

Amongst other Things worthy of Remark, I observ'd here, for I never thought it a damnable Sin, (like our Sectarists in *England*, who call themselves by the soft Name of *Protestant Dissenters*) to be acquainted with their Ceremonies at saying Mass; that while any part of the Gospel was Reading, every Man drew his Sword half way out of its Scabbard, to testifie his Forwardness to defend the Christian Faith, which has been a Custom put in Practice throughout all *Poland* ever since the Reign of King *Miecislans*, who was the first of that Character in this Kingdom who embraced Christianity, in the Year of our Lord, 964, and was the first Sovereign Prince of it, that renounced Paganism.

The next City I promised you an Account of is *Lopitz*, much more Populous than the very Capital of the Palatinate of *Rava*. And this in the Fifth Place, is Famous for being the wonted Residence of the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, and Primate of *Poland*. His Palace there is built among the Marshes, yet nevertheless consists of several fair Piles of Building. The Church also is a very Beautiful Structure, and enrich'd with several noble Gifts. It has likewise a great many considerable Monasteries, Abbies, &c. but nothing more worthy of Notice, than a very fair Library, replete with Books of all kinds, but very rarely turn'd over (as
I could

I could perceive by the Covers) they being placed there rather for Shew, and Ostentation, than any real Use or Instruction. The Keeper of this Library is Monsieur *de St. Pierre* a *French Man*, who was likewise Cross-Bearer to his Eminence the Cardinal Primate, and a Person every way Qualified for that Office. He shew'd me several valuable Books in all Languages, that might have excited the Curiosity of one that had not seen that Magazine of all useful Knowledge, the *Bodleian Library*; but nothing pleas'd me more, than a sight of an Inscription on the Monument of the last King of *Poland*, but one, who voluntarily in 1668, left his Kingdom, and retiring into *France*, died afterwards at *Nevers*, in 1671. It was written by the Librarian's Correspondent Father *Francis Default*, which for the Excellency in its kind, I took a Transcript of, after the following manner.

Æternæ Memorix
 REGIS ORTHODOXI
 HEIC
 Post Emenfos Virtutis
 Ac Gloriæ Gradus omnes,
 Quiescit nobili sui Parte,
 Johannes Casimirus
 Poloniæ,
 Ac Sueciæ Rex;
 Alto e Jagellonidum
 Sanguine
 Familiâ Vasatenfi
 POSTREMUS,
 Quia summus
 LITERIS, ARMIS, PIETATE.

Multa-

Multarum Gentium Linguas
Addidit, quo illas propensius
Sibi devinciret.

Septendecim Præliis collatis
Cum Hoste signis,

Totidem Uno Minus vicit,

SEMPER INVICTUS

Moscovitas, Suecos, Brandenburgenses,

Tartaros, Germanos

ARMIS;

Cofacos, aliosq; Rebelles

Gratiâ, ac Beneficiis

EXPUGNAVIT.

Victoriâ Regem eis se Præbens,

Clementia Patrem.

Denique totis Viginti Imperii Annis

Fortunam Virtute vincens,

Aulam habuit in Castris,

Palatia in Tentoriis,

Spētacula in

Triumphis

Liberos ex legitimo Connubio

Suscepit, quēis postea orbatus est,

Ne si se majorem reliquisset,

Non esset Ipse maximus,

Sin Minorem Stirps degeneraret.

Par ei ad Fortitudinem

Religio fuit,

Nec segnius Cælo militavit,

QUAM SOLO.

Hinc extructa Monasteria, &

Nosocomia Varsaviæ,

Calvinianorum Fana in

Lithuania excisa :

Sociniani Regno pulsi

Ne Casimirum haberent Regem,

Qui Christum Deum non

Haberent.

Memoirs of the LIFE of

Senatus a variis Sectis ad
Catholicæ Fidei Communionem
Adductus,

Ut Ecclesiæ Legibus
Continerentur

Qui Jura Populis dicerent.

Unde Illi præclarum

ORTHODOXI NOMEN

Ab Alexandro Septimo

Inditum.

Humanæ denique Gloriæ

Fastigium prætergressus,

Cum nihil præclarius agere

Possset,

Imperium Sponte Abdicavit

ANNO M. D. C. Lxviii

Tum porro Lachrymæ, quas

Nulli Regnans Excusserat,

Omnium Oculis Manarunt,

Qui abeuntem Regem, non secus

Atque Obeuntem Patrem

LUXERE.

Vitæ Reliquum in Pietatis

Officiis cum Exegisset,

Tandem auditâ Kameciæ

Expugnatione, ne tantæ Cladi

Supereffet,

CHARITATE PATRIÆ

VULNERATUS OCCUBUIT

XVII. Cal. Jan. M. D. C.

LXXII.

Regium Cor Monachis hujus

Cænobii, cui Abbas præfuerat

Amoris pignus reliquit ;

Quod illi istoc Tumulo

Mærentes condiderunt.

4. WARSAW is the Metropolis of the Province of *Mosovia*, defended with a Castle, Wall, and Ditch, seated in a Plain in the very Center of the Kingdom, and therefore pitched upon for convening of the Diet. It is divided into Four Parts, *viz.* The The Old and New Town, the Suburbs of *Cracow* and *Praag*, and adorned with diverse stately Piles of Buildings, particularly a stately Palace built in Four Squares by King *Sigismund III.* and much improved by his Successor; whereof the present King *John* by some Foundations of Apartments which he has caused to be laid, is not to be the last mentioned in History. Opposite to this on the other side of the River, stands another Royal Palace in the middle of delightful Groves and Gardens, erected by *Uladislaus VII.* and called by the Name of *Viasdow*, where the States or Diet of *Poland* formerly used to sit and debate the most important Affairs of the Kingdom. Here is moreover the Palace of King *John Casimir*, a most exquisite piece of Architecture, as likewise another of the same Beauty and Magnitude, built by Count *Morstin* Great Treasurer of *Poland*: Also within a League of this City, King *John Sobieski* is now laying the Foundations of a neat Country Palace, which is to be called *Villa Nova*. The other Publick Edifices are no less remarkable, being the Church of *St. John Baptist*, where Secular Canons Officiate, the Arsenal, Castle, Market Place. And diverse kinds of Merchandizes are convey'd hither along a River from the Neighbouring Provinces, and from hence carried to *Dantzic*

zic to be Transported into Foreign Countries. In the Suburbs of *Cracow* is a small Chapel, built on purpose for the Burial of *John Demetrius Suski* Grand Duke of *Muscovy*, who died Prisoner in the Castle of *Gostinin*, together with his two Brothers. This City was taken by the *Swedes* in 1655. but recover'd with other Acquisitions in War by the *Poles* some-time after.

5. THORN, the second City of the second Palatinate of Regal *Prussia*, is seated upon the Banks of the *Vistula*, by which it is divided into Two Parts : It lies four *Polish* Miles from *Culm* the Metropolis (though of little Note, because ruin'd in a manner by the *Swedes*) to the South, Thirteen from *Marienburgh*, Twenty Two from *Dantzic*, and Twenty Nine from *Warsaw*. It was heretofore an Imperial and free City, but afterwards Exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Empire, and as yet enjoys many Privileges. Its Name seems to have been taken from the *German* Word *Thor*, signifying a Gate, because built by the *Teutonic* Order, as it were for a Gate to let Forces into *Prussia* whenever occasion served. Whence its Arms are suppos'd to have been taken, being a Castle and Gate half open. This City does not stand in the same place where the Old one did, that having been seated a Mile Westward from hence, where are now to be seen the Ruins of an antient Castle, and some other Monuments that have received great Injury from Time. However, it is at present the fairest and best built of any Town in Royal *Prussia*, the Streets being much

much broader, and Houses more stately then at *Dantzic*. It was very much beautified by one of its Burgo-Masters *Henry Stowband*, in the year 1609, who founded a small University here, and endow'd it with a considerable Revenne. He likewise built an Hospital with a Publick Library, wherein Two of *Cicero's* Epistles are preserved, written upon Tables of Wax (the greatest Rarity that I saw in all this Kingdom) and a Town-House Erected in the middle of the Market Place. The Inhabitants revolted from the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order in the Year 1454, and put themselves under the Protection of *Poland*. But this City is for nothing more famous, than the Birth of that great Astronomer *Nicholaus Copernicus*, whose Name, without any other Recommendation, would be sufficient to transmit it to Posterity. *John Albert* King of *Poland* died here in 1501. It was taken by the *Swedes* in the year 1655, and regain'd by the *Poles* in 1658. Then the *Swedes* possess'd themselves of it again, and the *Poles* re-took it by surprize in the year 1665.

6. *MARIENBURGH*, built in the Year 1310, as a Place of Residence for the Master and Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, as may yet be seen by the several Stalls in the Chapel of the Castle Erected for them. It lies seated upon the River *Nogat*, a Branch of the *Vistula*, about six Miles from *Dantzic*, and is defended by strong Walls and high Towers, together with a very large Castle, wherein the better sort of Prisoners are kept in Time of War.

Having

Having mention'd the *Teutonic* Order, it may not be unacceptable to give you its Origin, and to trace it down from its first Settlement in this Kingdom, to its expulsion out of it. It was first Founded to reward and encourage Great Actions, and those particularly of the *German* Nation, whence it came to have the Title of *Teutonic*. For when the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* had engaged in the *Crusade*, for the Recovery of the *Holy-Land*, a great Number of *German* Nobility and Gentry joyn'd his Army as Volunteers. Of this *Crusade* were several other Princes of *Austria*, and *Bavaria*, *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Florant* Earl of *Holland*, &c. After this Emperor's Death, the *Germans* being before *Acon*, or *Ptolemais* which they then Besieged; chose for their Leaders *Frederick* Duke of *Suabia*, second Son to the aforesaid Emperor, and *Henry* Duke of *Brabant*. Under these Generals they behav'd themselves so well both at the taking of *Acon*, *Jerusalem*, and other Places of the *Holy-Land*, that *Henry* King of *Jerusalem*, the Patriarch, and several other Princes, thought themselves obliged to do something extraordinary in Honour of the *German* Nation. Hereupon they immediately resolved to erect an Order of Knights of that Nation, under the Protection of *St. George*, but afterwards they chang'd that Saint for the Virgin *Mary*, by reason that she had an Hospital already founded on Mount *Sion* at *Jerusalem*, for the Relief of *German* Pilgrims, of the manner of Building which, I am here told; That in the Time of the Holy War, a Wealthy

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thy Gentleman of *Germany*, who dwelt at *Jerusalem*, commiserating the Condition of his Countrymen coming thither on Devotion, and neither understanding the Language of that Place, nor knowing where to Lodge, receiv'd them Hospitably into his House, and gave them all manner of suitable Entertainment. Afterwards obtaining Leave of the Patriarch, he erected a Chapel for them, and Dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, whence the Knights that were established there afterwards, came to have the Title of *Equites Mariani*. Other *German* Gentlemen contributed largely to the maintaining and increasing this charitable Work; inso-much, that in a short time these Knights became very numerous and Wealthy, and gave themselves to Military Employments, and Acts of Piety and Charity.

In the Year 1190, they Elected their first Great Master, *Henry Walpot*, and in the Year following had their Order confirm'd, upon the Request of the Emperor *Henry VI.* by the Bull of Pope *Celestine III.* under the Title of *Teutonic*, or *High-German* Knights, of the Hospital of St. *Mary* the Virgin: vowing Poverty, Obedience and Chastity, and obliging themselves to receive none but *Germans* into their Order:

After they had thus receiv'd Confirmation from the Papal See, some Rich Citizens of *Bremen* and *Lubeck* joyning with them, and making large Contributions, another Hospital was Erected for them

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in the City of *Ancon*, or *Ptolemais* in *Syria*. But after that City, together with *Jerusalem*, and all the *Holy-Land* had been taken by the *Sarazens*, under the Command of *Saladin*, having been in possession of the *Christians* for more than Eighty seven Years, one *Hermannus*, then Great Master, with the remaining Knights, removed into *Germany*, on whom the Emperor *Frederick XI.* and Pope *Honorius III.* (or as some will have it, *Conradus* Duke of *Masovia*, in 1220) in the Year 1229, bestowed the Province of *Prussia*, where having conquer'd that Nation, and reduced it from *Paganism* to *Christianity*, they Built the City of *Marienburg*, or *Mary-Town*, and in the Year 1340, fix'd the Residence of their Great Masters there.

This Country they enjoy'd till about the Year 1525, when *Albert* Marquiss of *Brandenburgh*, the last great Master of this Order in those Parts, by a Solemn Renunciation, became Feudatory to King *Sigismund* of *Poland*, who rais'd *Prussia* to a Dukedom, and made this Marquiss first Duke thereof. But however, some of the Knights disliking this Action, proceeded to Elect another Great Master, which was *Walter de Cronenburgh*; and forthwith leaving *Prussia*, took their Residence up in *Germany*, where they continue at this Day, tho' in no great Reputation, except, that the younger Sons of the *German* Princes are commonly admitted into their Order.

Their

Their Statutes were compos'd after the Model of those of the *Knights Hospitalers*, and *Knights Templars*, at this Day, the *Knights of Malta*; but nevertheless to distinguish them from these Orders, their Habit was ordained to be a White Mantle, with a plain black Cross on the Breast. This Cross they were also to have upon white Banners, as likewise upon their Shields in their Coat of Arms. They were moreover enjoin'd to live conformable to the Orders and Rules of St. *Austin*. Their first Number was Twenty Four Lay-Brothers, and as many Priests, tho' they are since increased to several Hundreds. They both were allow'd to wear Armour and Swords, and might celebrate Mass in that Habit. None of them shaved their Beards, but by their Order were obliged to let them grow, and to Sleep upon Sacks of Straw. But however, this, with other mortifying Injunctions, were soon of no manner of Force.

This Order being Established after the manner which I have shewn before, all Christian Princes endeavour'd to give them Encouragement; and among the rest, his Holiness (as the People of this side of the World call the Pope) and the Emperor gave them particular proofs of their Favour and Liberality. Philip King of France also being willing to do the like on his part, made them great Presents, and moreover granted their Grand Master a Liberty to wear the *Flower de Lis* on the four Extremities of their Mantles or Robes.

Their Power and Force in War will appear, by the Efforts which *Albert* Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and their 34th and last Great Master there made to keep his Footing in *Poland*. He was Nephew to *Sigismund* I. and Elected in the Time of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Pope *Julius*. The Chapter of this Order chose him, in hopes that being so near a Kinsman, he might prevail upon his Uncle to restore to them, what had been taken from them by the *Poles*. But this Great Master was so far from Answering their Expectation, that having refused to Swear Allegiance to the King of *Poland*, he Fortified all his Towns for his Defence, and gave occasion to a War to break out between him and his Uncle, in the Year 1519, whereupon some few Places were taken and lost on both sides. But in 1529, *Wolfgang* Duke of *Schonenburgh*, General of the *Teutonic* Army, which consisted of about 20000 Foot, and 8000 Horse, sat down before *Dantzick*, and from the Bishop's Hill (vulgarly so called) threw away near 4000 Bombs into the Town, to little or no purpose, while the Besiegers were very much incommoded by the Cannon from the Town; for a Man durst scarce shew his Head, but he had forty shot at him. This so discouraged the Besiegers, that the major part of them soon discover'd their Inclinations to be gone, and for that purpose began to Mutiny against their Officers. Whilst they were thus wavering in their Resolutions, and scarce doing any Duty but by Compulsion, the *Polish* Army appear'd, being 20000 Horse, sent by the

the King to raise the Siege. It was now high time for the Beliegers to scamper, which they immediately set about with such precipitation, that the *Poles* found it no difficult Matter to overtake them, and to kill and make Prisoners great Numbers of them.

After this, the King's Army took in *Dirschow*, *Stargardie*, and the strong Castle of *Choinicz*, and proceeded in their Conquests with such Vigour and Diligence, that most of the Cities and Castles of the Order surrendred themselves. By these means the *Teutonic* Knights were totally expell'd *Prussia*, which their Great Master *Albert* perceiving, as likewise that he was no longer able to contend with so powerful a Monarch as his *Polish* Majesty, (tho' his Predecessors had formerly done it for many Years, when they were in a better Condition than he was) resolved to submit himself and his *Order* to his Uncle's Mercy; which he not long after did, in the publick Market-place of *Cracow*.

A Throne being erected for the King, much after the same Nature of that wherein he is wont to take the Oaths and Homage of his Subjects after his Coronation, the Marquis deliver'd up the Ensigns of his Order to the King, and swore all manner of Allegiance to him. In consideration of which, his Majesty return'd him the Ensigns of *Prussia*, quarter'd with the *Polish*, and at the same time created him Duke of that part of the Country, which from thenceforward has had the Name

of *Ducal Prussia*, and continued all along in his Family to this Day.

The *Teutonic Order* being thus expell'd *Prussia*, they Transfer'd their Chapter to *Marienthal*, where they continued to chuse Masters as the Vacancies happen'd; he that is the Chief of that Order, now being the 45th Master, and Duke of *Newburgh*. The Ceremony of Creating one of these Knights, is after this manner. The Person that is to be invested with that Dignity, is to be conducted by the Great Master and Knights, out of which Three Commissioners who have been to inspect the Titles of Honour, are to make their Report upon Oath, that they have Examin'd and found his Honour to be unquestionable. After which he is to be Sworn to Chastity, Poverty, and to go to the Wars against the Infidels, whenever Occasion shall require. When they give him the White Mantle with the Black Cross, which are the Ensigns of this Order, they pronounce these words according to Custom. *We promise to give you as long as you Live, Water, Bread, and a Habit of our Order.*

The *Teutonic Order* at present consists of Twelve Provinces, which are *Alsace*, and *Burgundy*, for one, *Coblentz*, *Austria* and *Etsch*, these four still retain the Name of Provinces of the Jurisdiction of *Prussia*, as the Eight following do that of *Germany*, being the Provinces of *Franconia*, *Hesse*, *Bressen*, *Westphalia*, *Lorrain*, *Thuringen*, *Saxony*, and *Utrecht*; altho' this

this last is now altogether under the Dominion of the *Hollanders*. Every one of these Provinces has its peculiar *Commanderys* of the *Commendadors*, of which the Provincial is Chief. These *Commendadors*, compose the Chapter of the Electors; amongst whom the Great Master has two Voices, and a decisive one, in case the Numbers are Equal. This Great Master's Place of Residence is to be at *Mariendal* in *Franconia*, where these Assemblies are held.

Having carried you out of *Poland*, into the Heart of *Germany*, and led you out of your way many Leagues, give me leave to put you into the Road again, and to bring you back to *Dantzick*, which is the last Place I undertook the Description of, and which I shall be the more particular in, on Account of my longer Stay there, than in any other Place.

DANTZIC (in Latin *Dantiscum*, or *Cedanum*) is the largest, strongest, and most Wealthy City in all *Royal Prussia*, and is situated in one of the Three Islands (of which *Regal Prussia* consists) called by the *Germans*, *der Dantzicher Werder*; this *der Werder* implying properly so many Pieces of solid Ground encompassed by Fens and Bogs.

By whom this City was first Built, it remains as yet undetermin'd. *Becanus* will have the *Danes* to have been the Founders of it, and from them to have been called *Danes-wick*, i. e. *Danes-Town*. But

this Derivation seems to have too much *Dutch* in it, and to be drawn in Favour of a People, that are not content with Engrossing the Trade of the World, but its very Towns too; therefore it is more probable, that to the Word *Dan*, *Cdan* or *Gdan*, was added the *Sclavonian* Term *Scke* (signifying a Town) which made it *Danscke*, *Cdanscke*, or *Gdanscke*, and which might very reasonably be supposed afterwards, for better Pronunciation sake to be changed into *Dantzic*, or *Dantzig*.

The Town it self is water'd by the Rivers *Rodawn*, and *Motlaw*, and divided by the former into Two Parts, the Old and the New: On the Southern and Western side, it is surrounded by high Mountains, and has been well Fortified against the Incurfions of the *Swedes*, and others, ever since the Year 1656. It has a large and high Wall, so broad, that Coaches may easily go round the Ramparts; and so large in compass, that it is Three Hours Journey round, which I may very well compute at Six English Miles. At the Entrance of the *Rodawn*, on the other side it, is a strong Fort, wherein there is commonly a Garrison of 1000 Men; nor is it possible that this City should be Bombarded from the Sea; by reason of its Distance from it, but from the Neighbouring Hills it may; and therefore some Works are raised there, and always a certain Number of Soldiers, with store of Cannon and Ammunition placed in them, for its greater Security.

It is also at present a very famous Mart, and one of the principal of the *Hans-Towns*, scarce inferior to *Hamburgh*, being altogether govern'd by its own Laws, tho' under the Protection of the Crown of *Poland*, from which it has a *Castellan* appointed over it; Half of the Suburbs belong to that Crown, and the other Half to the City; for in some parts the Crown Lands reach to the Suburbs: but in others, the City Lands go several Miles together into the Country.

There are Twenty Parishes in the City and Suburbs. The Houses are generally of Brick, and the Streets most commonly very wide, and well paved, tho' somewhat dirty in Winter, as most of the Streets in *Poland* are. The Chief part of the City is called by the Inhabitants *Die rechte Stadt*, and was built by *Conrad Wallenrodt*, Master of the *Teutonic* Order, about the Year 1388. There are no Gardens in the City, but several very fine and large ones in the Suburbs.

The Inhabitants are for the most Part *Germans*, and computed to be upwards of Two Hundred Thousand Souls; whereof the greatest Part have adhered to the *Ausburgh* Confession ever since the year 1525, and the *Lutherans* alone are admitted to a share in the Government: Yet all other Sects are tolerated, and allow'd a free Exercise of their Religion.

The Publick Buildings here, are first the Churches, whereof there are Two, very famous, *viz.* St. *Mary's*, and St. *Peter's*: the former of which, is by much the Stateliest, and most Exquisite Fabrick in all *Prussia*, being very high Roof'd, and having in it a most melodious and well wrought Organ. Besides it has 48 Altars, 3722 Windows, and a Font made at *Antwerp* which cost 24000 Rixdollars, *i. e.* 5400 Pounds of *English* Money.

In the second Place, the Town-House where the Magistrates sit for the Dispatch of Publick Business, is a most magnificent Structure, with an exceeding high Spire. It has abundance of Noble Inscriptions in several Rooms, into which it is divided, and the Court of Judicature surpasses any that I ever yet saw, being built all with Free Stone, and curiously adorned on the Outside with Embellishments of Fretwork, &c. as it is inwardly with Original Pictures and Hieroglyphicks, by the best Masters.

Three large Magazines of Warlike Stores, Ammunition, and Provision are likewise kept in this City, capable of Equipping more than 40000 Men, at few Hours Warning; and a prodigious Amassment of Naval Stores to fit out Shipping.

But tho' there is no University; the Professors of all Faculties reside here in a very Noble College, which is endowed with most Academical Privileges but that of giving the Degree of a Doctor. The Exchange

change for Merchants, may likewise pass for a Famous Pile of Building, if compared to any other, but Ours in *London*, or the *Stadthouse* at *Amsterdam*: Nor are the Palace of *St. Dominick*, or the College of Jesuits here, any ways inferior to many beautiful Edifices.

The Jurisdiction of *Dantzic* extends to above 40 Miles Circumference, and it sends Two Deputies to the Diet of *Poland*.

The Absolute Government of it is in the Hands of Thirty Senators, Elders, or Magistrates; whereof the greatest Part are Persons of Learning, tho' some few are Merchants, but of no other Trade. None of the Clergy can be of this Magistracy, tho' any Foreigners may; yet none of any other Religion but the *Lutheran*, except the *Calvinist*, whereof there must be always Four in the whole Senate.

The Senators when once created, continue for Life, and the First and Chief of them are the Four *Burgomasters*, or as they call 'em, *Proconsuls*; Out of which a President is chosen every Year. Under these, there are Thirteen *Consuls*, who chuse the aforesaid *Burgomasters* out of their Body, as often as Vacancies happen by Death, &c. They likewise have the Election of all other Officers, belonging as well to the City as the Suburbs.

There are Twelve *Scabins* or Judges for all manner of Processes; from whom there lies an Appeal to
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the Thirteen *Consuls* and Four *Burgomasters*, and from thence, to the Court of *Poland*. The Thirtieth Senator is their *Syndic* or Orator; who is like a Master of the Ceremonies, to receive and compliment any Foreign Ministers or Agents: He takes Place of all the *Scabins*, as the *Consuls* and Four *Burgomasters*.

The King nominates every Year, out of the *Consuls* or *Burgomasters*, a *Burgrave*, to represent his Person in the Senate: And all Sentences of Death must be sign'd by Him in the King's Name: For no Body can be Executed here without such signing, and there is a very out of the way Distinction in those Executions; for Natives must be always Executed before *Arlus-House*, or the Town-House; and Foreigners near one of the Gates of the City where the Prison lies: All those that are Executed in the City are Beheaded: But all Thieves and Robbers (the other's Crimes being Offences against the State) are to be Hanged about Two Miles out of Town, at a famous Gallows, supported by four Pillars of Brick.

To represent the Grievances of the People, and to maintain their Privileges, there are an Hundred Burghers chosen, for inspecting the Conduct of the Senate. They have likewise a Vote in Electing the Clergy, in conjunction with the Senate. Within this City, and its Jurisdiction, there are no Bishops, but only a College of the Clergy, who have no Power, except to examine such as are design'd to be

be Elected Priests by the Senate and the *Centum viri*, the manner of whose Election is this.

The Candidate first makes his Application to the Clergy to examine him, which done, they give him a Certificate, setting forth that they think him capable, and allow him a Liberty to Preach. After which the People or Congregation of some Parish present him to the Senate and *Centum viri*, desiring he may be Elected for their Minister; when by Plurality of Voices, he is Elected accordingly, and thereupon sent back to the College of the Clergy to be ordained; which is performed by Imposition of Hands, Reading of Prayers, and some other Ceremonies.

In this City also there are four *Roman Catholick* Churches; Whereof one is the King's Chapel, and the rest are for Monks. There are also Two for *Calvinists*, where the Senate has no Power to Nominate the Clergy. I may here likewise observe a particular Custom relating to Marriage, which is, that there is a *Roman Catholick* Official, a Priest, who by his Power can oblige any Person to marry a Woman that he has but promised, or given any Present to whatsoever, though the Party never meant any such thing as Courtship for such a Contract, which occasions a great deal of Confusion and Disorder.

As for the King's Power in the City, he can save any Body's Life that he pleases, tho' condemn-
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ed to die by the Magistrates. To him half the Customs of the Port come: And one Mill brings him in every Hour of the Day and Night 24 Gold Ducats. This Mill is mov'd by the *Rodawn*, which runs thro' the City. It grinds such a great quantity of Corn all the year round, that its Revenue amounts to 4320 Pounds Sterling to the State, and the King, besides the Profit arising to the Proprietors: And they are obliged to put the King's Effigies on one side of their Coin, tho' they commonly have their own Arms on the other; and also to Treat his *Polish* Majesty, and his whole Court for three Days, when he comes thither: But however he can bring but a few of his Guards into the City. They are likewise to have a Secretary always at the Court of *Poland*.

In relation to the City Privileges; they can Coin their own Money without the King's Leave, chuse their Magistrates, make their own Laws, and determine absolutely in Matters of Debt, to the Value of 500 Guilders; but where the Action exceeds that Sum, an Appeal lies to the Tribunal of *Poland*. Yet in such Case the Appellant is obliged to lay down 100 Guilders in the Town-House before he can proceed; and this is to deter People from making such Appeals; for the *Dantzickers* do not much care that any of their Money should get into *Poland*, but where they cannot help it.

This City has always above 2000 Soldiers in Service, and can easily maintain 20000: But in Cases of Necessity has been known to have raised 60000.

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As for Ships they have none that they call Men of War, but abundance of Merchant Men of 3 or 400 Tuns each, and 30 or 40 Guns apiece, which never Trade so far as the *East* or *West Indies*, but into the *Streights*, and all the other Parts of *Europe*.

It was taken from the *Danes*, by *Sabislaus*, Grandson to *Swentorobus*, about the Year 1186, and seiz'd by the *Poles* some short time after. The Knights of the *Teutonic* Order made themselves Masters of it in 1305, and Wall'd it round in 1314. *Casimir* III King of *Poland*, surnamed the *Great*, regained it in 1454, and granted very great Privileges to the Citizens, who afterwards declaring for the *Ausburgh* Confession, sided with *Maximilian* of *Austria*, against King *Stephen Bathori*: Infomuch that the Latter Proscribed, and even Besieged them in 1577. But, however, by the Mediation of other Princes, they were restored to their Religion and Liberties in 1597.

In 1656, they vigorously repulsed the *Swedes*, and adhered to the Interest of *John Casimir*, King of *Poland*; and at present they make one of the Members of that State, having been admitted to a suffrage in the Election of the *Polish* Monarchs in the Year 1632.

Having mention'd King *Stephen Bathori* just before, I cannot omit an Elogy which I found in an
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Antient Manuscript in the College of the Clergy's Library here, relating to that Prince. It runs thus,

In Templo plusquam Sacerdos.

In Republica plusquam Rex.

In Sententia Dicenda plusquam Senator.

In Judicio plusquam Jurisconsultus.

In Exercitu plusquam Imperator.

In Acie plusquam Miles.

In Adversis perferendis, Injuriisq; condonandis plusquam Vir.

In Publica Libertate tuenda plusquam Civis.

In Amicitia Colenda plusquam Amicus.

In Convictu plusquam Familiaris.

In Venatione Ferisq; domandis, plusquam Leo.

In tota reliqua Vita plusquam Philosophus.

Thus much concerning the Description of the Places in and about this Antient and Renowned Kingdom, I shall in the next Place make Good my Word in Relation to other Particulars concerning their Religion, Customs, and Manners.

Besides the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* which abound chiefly in Regal *Prussia*, there are many other Religions tolerated in this Kingdom, such as the *Armenians*, *Jews*, and *Tartars* put in Practice, who all enjoy their different Persuasions without Molestation; tho' the National Church is entirely after the Mode of the *Roman*. As for the *Armenians*, they Inhabit chiefly in certain Towns of *Prussia* and *Podolia*, and have their peculiar Prelates, Abbots, and Priests. Their Service is Exercised in
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their own Language. These, as in other Countries, acknowledge the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, but differ from it in Worship. The *Jews* are every where to be found in *Poland*, and enjoy their Religion and Privileges without Interruption, only they are restrained from Trading within Twelve Miles of *Warsaw*, by the Constitutions. Their Number is so great, that it is accounted to amount to Two Millions, and they are so Privileged, that all this vast Body pays not above One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Florins a Year to the State, which amounts to no more than Twenty Thousand Dollars. In the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, there are above Thirty Thousand *Tartars*, with Liberty of the *Turkish* Religion. They have been there more than Six Hundred Years, and for the continuance of their Privileges, they are obliged to send Twelve Hundred Men Yearly to the Wars against the *Turks* and *Tartars*. There are likewise, as I am told, a great many Idolaters on the Frontiers of this Kingdom, who still retain their antient Superstitions, whereof One is, that when any One dies, and tho' it be a Year afterwards another dies likewise, they presently dig up the first Body, and cut off its Head, thereby to prevent, as they say, the Death of any more of their Family.

Yet, notwithstanding *Poland* admits of all these Religions, the National Churchmen, which are *Roman Catholics*, are so bigotted to their own Persuasion, that they will admit of none into their

Senate, Diet, or Courts of Judicature (except in those of *Prussia*) that hold not the same Religious Tenets. Also Bishops always Preside in the Assembly of the States, that nothing may be Transacted there in prejudice of that Faith. The inferior Clergy likewise, selected out of the several Colleges and Chapters of the Kingdom, are appointed to have Seats in the Tribunals, and other Courts of Justice, for the same Reason. In like manner the great Officers of the Crown are very frequently Bishops, and the Chief Secretary of the whole Kingdom has always been an Ecclesiastick.

Here are Sixteen Ecclesiastical, and One Hundred and Twenty Eight Lay Senators. The first are either Archbishops or Bishops, and are the chief Members of the Senate, of which the Archbishop of *Gnesna* is Chief. He is Primate of the Kingdom, a Title given him by the Council of *Constance*, and moreover Stiles himself the Pope's Legate born, by a Grant of the Council of *Lateran*. All Ecclesiastical Affairs that have been determin'd in the Archbishop of *Leopol's*, or any of the other Bishops Court, may be reversed, or confirmed by an Appeal to him; and his Power and Authority is so exceeding great, it being next to the Kings, that it is Death to draw a Sword in his Presence, or to Quarrel in any manner whatsoever before him. When he goes to the King or the Diet, there is always a Golden Cross carried before him, and when he sits, his Chaplain holds it behind his Chair. He has his Marshal, who is a Castellan and

and Senator of the Kingdom. This Person on Horseback carries a Golden Battoon before his Coach, but Salutes none with it except the King, when the Archbishop and his Majesty happen to meet. This Marshal has likewise the Honour to carry a Staff of the same Nature before the King, when the other Marshals are absent. When the Archbishop comes to wait on the King, the Great Chamberlain, or some other Great Officer always receives him at the Stairs, and the King comes afterwards out of his Chamber, to meet him in the Antichamber. He never pays any Visits out of Duty, but to the Popes Nuncio, and to him only but once; neither does he pay that Compliment to the Embassadors of Crowned Heads, though they Visit him first.

After the King's Death, he is the Supreme Regent of the Kingdom till a new one is Chosen; during which time, he may Coin Money in his own Name; a Privilege granted him by *Boleslaus* the Chaste, but which nevertheless has not been Practiced, no Money having as yet been seen, of any one of the Primate's Coining. The Revenues also of the Crown belong to him in the *Inter-Regnum*; He Convenes the *Diet*, and Dissolves it at Pleasure; and in case there happens any thing Extraordinary, the Government assigns him several Senators for his Assistance. In short, he is *Tantum non Rex*, and he alone can Proclaim the King when Elected, and Crown him afterwards; which is so very considerable, that he is look'd

upon by the Embassadors and Envoys of the Candidates, as the only Person upon whom the Success of their Negotiations depend; and therefore all of them do their utmost to make him their Friend.

The Reason why the Republick entrusts this great Authority to a Clergman is, least if it should devolve upon a Secular Senator, he might make use of it to advance himself to the Throne.

These Senators Office is to serve faithfully the King and Republick with their Advice, to Administer Justice by Commission, or otherwise, at Home; and with consent of the Diet, to exercise foreign Ministry Abroad; and they value themselves for their Dignities so highly, that they despise almost all other Titles whatsoever. Therefore when *Sigismund I.* went, as has been before related, to *Vienna*, and his Imperial Majesty offer'd the Title of Prince of the Empire to the several Senators that came along with him, they absolutely refused them; giving for Reason, *That being Born Gentlemen of Poland, and thereby having a Right to Treat either of Peace or War with their King; they believ'd it an Injury to their Dignity to have a Prince of the Empire thought their Superior.*

The Regular Clergy in *Poland* are generally more esteem'd than the Secular; for they can perform all the Offices of Parish Priests, without having Permission from the Bishops; and Fryars *Mendicant* are allow'd to enter the most private part of
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any House, without so much as knocking at the Door. All Religious Orders are likewise to be seen in this Kingdom, but *Carthusians*, and *Minims*.

Those Regular Clergy are generally very Rich, but not less dissolute and immodest; for they frequently go into the Cellars to Drink, those being the Tippling Places in this Country; and sometimes you shall see many of them so Drunk in the Streets, that they are scarce able to stand or go; and this without either their Superiors or the People taking notice of them.

On Fast-Days these Religious Persons, and all others of the *Poles*, abstain from Milk, Eggs, Flesh, and Boyl'd Fish at Nights only: For provided they keep to these Rules at that time, they may Eat and Drink what they please all the Day; only Frydays and Saturdays they forbear Butter, Cheese, Milk and Eggs all the Day long. Nor can they be inclined to eat Butter or Cheese on Fast-Days, tho' they have Permission from the Church; for when the present Archbishop of *Gnesna* obtain'd them that Liberty from the See of *Rome*, they absolutely refused it, saying, *That his Holiness the Pope was an Heretick*. This rigid Custom they have observed ever since one of those Roman Pontiffs enjoyn'd them to Fast for a Hundred Years together for some enormous Crime; and which it may be they do not yet think sufficiently expiated. They also are so obstinate in their abstaining from Flesh, that they will not Eat any, notwithstanding

they are *Sick*, and advised thereunto by their *Doctors*, and permitted by their *Priests*.

As for the Secular Inferior Clergy, they are either Collegiate or Parochial, and both are much after the same nature as with us. The *Canons* are never almost present at the Office, for they give the Poor Scholars to the value of Two Pence of our Money *per Diem*, to say their *Hours* for them in the Choir. And the Parsons generally neglect their Cures, by leaving most of their Duty to the Monks, or Vicars, or Curates. They also Sing part of the Service in the *Polish* Language, and that especially in the Parish Churches at High Mass.

The *Rosary* is also repeated in the *Dominican's* Chapels, in which the Men are Seated, and joyn in the Repetition on one side, and the Women on the other; the former alone Singing the *Ave-Maria*, and the latter the *Sancta-Maria*.

Plurality of Benefices is here tolerated, for there are some of these Secular Clergy who have not only Rights to Canonships, but also Two or more Parsonages. But there are none that take any Care to perform the Duties of their Function; the Bishops themselves being so careless of the Episcopal Charge, that they neglect correcting the Inferior Clergy when they do amiss.

At Divine Service the *Poles* seem always very devout, and bestow considerable Gifts upon their Churches, but they are neither Liberal to the Poor, nor careful of Sick Necessitous Persons. They pray always
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aloud in the Church, and at the Elevation of the Host at Mass, they cuff themselves, and knock their Heads against the Pavement or the Bench, whereon they sit, that it commonly makes a great Noise, and may be heard at a considerable distance.

Their Ecclesiastical Courts, as in other Nations, are altogether in the Hands of the Bishops, who have each their Chancellor, Register, &c. from whom Appeals may be made to the Two Archbishops, and even from the Archbishop of *Leopol*, to the Archbishop of *Gnesna*. Nevertheless from him Appeals lie to the See of *Rome*. These Judge according to the Canons of the Church; and the Civil Magistrates are obliged to be Assisting to them in the execution of their Sentences, as often as they shall be so required.

To the *Ecclesiastical Courts* belong the Court of *Nunciature*, held by the Pope's Nuncio, for that Purpose, always residing in *Poland*. However, before he can have any Jurisdiction, he must have presented the King, and the Principal Ministers of State, with the Apostolick Brief of his Nunciature.

The *Civil Jurisdiction* is divided among diverse sorts of Judges, and belongs to the Commonalty as well as Gentry. Some of these determine Causes exempt from Appeals, and others cannot.

Those from whom there lies no Appeal, are the Three High Tribunals Instituted by King *Stephen Bathori*, the Judges whereof are all Gentry. Two of these Tribunals are for the Kingdom, and one

for the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; and all of them consists of fix'd numbers to be Judges, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, chosen out of every *Palatinate*; the former once in four Years, and the latter once in two. These pronounce Judgment by Plurality of Voices; but where Matters are purely Ecclesiastical, there ought to be as many of the Clergy as the Laity. The Causes here are heard in Order; for three Days are allow'd to enter all that come, and whatsoever are not Book'd in that time, cannot be adjudged that Session. So that a Man who has a Tryal in these Courts, may be said to have all the Nation for his Judges, *Deputies* both Spiritual and Temporal being sent thither for that End, from all parts of the Kingdom.

There is also a Board of Green-cloth to determine Affairs relating to the King's Household, (as with us,) Two Courts of Exchequer, and likewise Courts of the Gentry and Commonalty in every *Palatinate*, which are neither exempt from Appeals, nor by any means have so much as one of the Clergy among their Judges, and determine in Disputes about the Limits of Land, or in Criminal Cases.

The immediate Appeal from these Courts, is to the Vice-Chamberlain of the *Palatinate*; who either by himself, or his Deputy, the Chamberlain of that *District*, restores all to Persons illegally dispossest, and ascertains all Bounds and Limits of Land. This is in a manner, the Sphere of his whole Jurisdiction. But where there is any contest between
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the King and any of the Gentry in this kind, then at their Request, Commissioners are appointed out of the Senate to inspect the Matter of the Controversie, and to do Justice therein. Likewise when a Difference arises between the King and a Clergyman, Commissioners are order'd; but there the Bishop of the Diocese claims the Nomination of one or more of them; and when any of the Courts of *Land-Judicature* dies, the King cannot name others, till the District to which they belong'd, have chosen Four out of the House-keepers; but then he may pitch upon one for each Election.

The other Courts for the Gentry, are those that take cognizance of Criminal Cases, whereof there is only one in every *Starostaship*, where the *Starosta* himself, or his Lieutenant, Administers Justice in his Castle, or some other publick Place, at least every Six Weeks. He likewise Determines in Civil Causes between such as have no Lands, and such Foreigners as come to Trade here, and is to cause Process to be serv'd in *Criminal Cases* a Fortnight, and in *Civil*, a Week before the Court sits.

He is also the Executive Minister of all Sentences pronounced, and likewise the sole Conservator of the Peace within his Territories, being obliged by himself, or his Officers, like our High-Sheriffs, to see all publick Executions perform'd.

As to the Courts of Commonalty, they are either held in *Cities*, or *Villages*. In *Cities*, Justice is Admini-

Administred by the *Scabins* (Officers belonging to the King) the Magistracy, or Judge Advocate. The *Scabins* have cognizance of all Capital Offences, and Criminal Matters; the Magistracy of all Civil Cases, to which likewise the Gentry are subject; and the Judge Advocate of Offences committed by the Soldiery. Civil Matters of small moment are determined solely by the Governor of the City, but from him their lies an Appeal to the Town-Hall, or Magistracy, and thence to the King.

In *Villages* the Commonalty are subject to *Scabins*, and to *Scultets*, or peculiar Lords, from which last there is no Appeal. Here Justice is almost Arbitrary, except in Criminal Cases, the *Scultets* being Hereditary Judges, and not to be dispossess'd of their Offices, but by Death, and Forfeiture of Life by High Treason, &c.

The Officers and Magistrates of the *Plebeian* Courts, are some named by their peculiar Lords, and some Elected by their Fellow-Citizens, except in *Cracow* only, where the Palatine has a Right of chusing the Magistrates, though he has not the same Power to displace them after they are once chosen; they being also to continue their Offices for Life, unless forfeited by Infamy and Inability as aforesaid.

The Profits of all Offices in any of these Courts are but very small, and uncertain; the *Poles* esteeming

ing the Honour of Enjoying them sufficient Recompence. Nevertheless they have all Sallaries, and Perquisites, howsoever inconsiderable.

The *Military* Jurisdiction of *Poland* is altogether in the Hands of the King, or his Generals, altho' the *Palatines* and *Castellans* who generally accompany his Majesty in the Wars, retain their Authority over their Respective Inferiors, which is very Despotical, (and like the *Chiefs* over their Vassals in *Scotland*;) but where those are Refractory, a Court Martial adjusts the Difference.

As for the Laws of *Poland*, it is on all Hands agreed, that it had none till the time of *Casimir* the Great, and then but very few made by him; although it is certain, that the *Poles* had embraced Christianity long before, and were well enough versed in Human Learning; yet was there never any Law or Statute of any Prince committed to Writing, but the People were contented to be governed by the Customs and Manners of their Ancestors handed down to them from Father to Son. *Casimir* III. therefore (called the Great from his Prudent Administration) observing the Disadvantages his Kingdom labour'd under by the *Germans*, who then frequently came into *Poland* on account of Trade, receiv'd the *Saxon* Laws (now called *Magdeburg* Laws, from the City whence they were taken) by which *Poland* is at this Day principally Govern'd; although the Gentry have many peculiar Customs, and some Statutes, which have been since

since made; and which in the Time of *Sigismundus Augustus*, being compil'd into one Volume by Learned Men, were Entitled *The Statutes of the Kingdom*; and since (some having been approv'd and augmented, and others changed and alter'd in several Diets) have obtain'd the Name of *Constitutions of Poland*; to which nevertheless all that Kingdom is not subject, *Lithuania* and *Volhinia* observing its own Laws. *Prussia* also both *Regal* and *Ducal*, has a Municipal Law of its own, commonly stiled *the Law of Culm*, from which notwithstanding Three Cities are Exempt, viz. *Elbing*, *Bransberg*, and *Fraumberg*, all which make use of the Laws of *Lansberg*.

The Punishments in *Poland* are various, and differ only according to the Quality of the Crimes, and not of Persons offending, for a Thief is to be Hang'd, of what Degree soever he be, and Capital Offenders of all other kinds and qualities are to be Beheaded (as has been observ'd in the Description of *Dantzic*.) except in Cases of the most flagrant and notorious Villanies, when the Criminal is commonly broken upon the Wheel, or else Tortured by cutting off two Thongs or long Pieces out of the Skin of his Back. A Nobleman is sometimes punished by forfeiting half his Estate to the King, and the rest to an Informer, and sometimes by Imprisonment only.

Masters also have a Power of chastizing their Servants, which they do after this manner. If the
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Servant they are about to Punish be a *Polish* Gentleman, then they make him lie down on his Belly on a Carpet spread on the Ground, or upon a Stool, when another Gentleman Servant lays him on unmercifully upon the Back, with a Rope or Stick, giving him as many Blows or Lashes, as the Master, who is always present, orders. After which, he that is beaten, embraces the Knees of him that has commanded him to be beat, and Salutes him with the good natur'd Title of *Benefactor*. Which Discipline seems a little too severe, but however is necessary from the Temper of these People. The Servants of Vulgar Extraction are likewise punish'd after the same manner, only with this difference, that they have no *Carpet* spread under them. Some of the former think it an Honour to be so thrash'd, which Honour they always bestow liberally as often as they deserve it.

Nor is this Custom among the *Poles* of punishing their Gentlemen Servants so rigorously, much to be wondred at, if it be consider'd, that they may serve in the meanest Offices, without derogating from the Nobility of their Birth, or incapacitating themselves for the Highest Preferments. For (says *Hauteville*, one of their most celebrated Historians) *I have known some who from being Foot-men to Great Lords, and Drummers in a Troop of Dragoons, have been advanced to the Dignity of SENATORS*; there being nothing that debases Nobility in this Country, but a Handicraft or Mechanick Employment.

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I should here bestow some Time on the manner of chusing their *Diet*, and its *Session*, for the Promulgation of the Laws just now spoken of; but the several Particulars and Customs observ'd therein requiring more time than the compass of a Letter, will allow of, and a Writer better vers'd than my self in the nature of Constitutions, whereinto I have had but an imperfect Insight; I shall say little more, than that the Grand Diet or Parliament of *Poland*, is an Assembly of the King, Senators, and *Nuncio's*, of Deputies of every Province met together in any City or Town of *Poland* or *Lithuania*, in order to deliberate upon State-Affairs, and the means to secure and preserve the Kingdom both in Times of Peace and War.

It is the King, or, during an *Inter-regnum*, the *Primate*, who has the sole Power of convening them, as likewise to appoint the Place where they shall Sit; and by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, the King as Head of the Republick, is obliged to call a *Diet* every Third Year; and of every Three successively, Two are held in *Poland* most commonly, and the Third in *Lithuania*, in the City of *Grodno*, in the Palatinate of *Troki*, twenty Leagues from *Vilna*, Capital of that Great Dutchy; so that every Ninth Year the King with all the Senators and Deputies of the Kingdom, goes into *Lithuania*; and every Third, the Senators and Deputies of *Lithuania* come into *Poland*. The Reason of the *Diets* being held thus in *Lithuania*, proceeds from

from the Inhabitants of that Dutchy's Complaint that it was very inconvenient for them to come so far as *Poland*, without having it in their Turn to make themselves Compensation, by enriching their Country also, by the Presence of his Majesty, and the Estates of the Kingdom.

When the King is pleas'd to give out Summons for this General Meeting, he is by the Constitution in the year 1613, to issue forth Circular Letters Six Weeks before the time he appointed for its Session, to all the Palatins of the Provinces, acquainting them with his Design, together with the time he intends it shall meet at. He sends them likewise a List of all the Affairs and Articles which are to be Treated of in that Diet: Whereupon every Palatine, or his Deputy, in his own respective Government, forthwith dispatches Notice to all the *Castellans*, *Starostas*, and other Gentry, to meet together at a certain Time, in order to deliberate upon the Articles and Affairs propos'd in the King's Letters, as also to chuse a Nuntio or Deputy to represent their Intentions in the Great Diet. These Letters are Proclaimed by a Herald at Arms, and afterwards Posted upon all the Town Gates and Church Doors, and the Assemblies in the Provinces, preparatory to this General Meeting of the States, are term'd by them *Comitiola*, or *little Diets*. Tho' in Cases of Extremity *Six Weeks* notice need not be given, as appears by the Constitutions of the Year, 1638.

The

The Qualification for Voting in these little Diets, is, that all sorts of Gentlemen both Rich and Poor, provided they have but three Acres of Land in their Possession, which must be worth at least eight Crowns sterling a Year (like our Freeholders in the Country) have a right to come thither, where they have all equal Authority and Votes, none being suffer'd to be present there in that Capacity, but who is well descended. But what is more particular, the Electors must be Unanimous here, or the Choice is invalid, for I am informed, it has lain in the Power of one of these Diminutive Gentry, to hinder a Person from being chosen Chairman of one of these Petty-Sessions, till the Candidate had given him a *Polish* pair of Boots, for he was before almost bare-footed, after which he came in and consented to the Election.

Not but at these *little Diets* the poorer sort of Gentry for the most part accord with their Seigneur, and generally approve of what he says, without knowing some time what the Matter in Hand is, an Example whereof, *Hautiville* says, happen'd in his Time at one of these Assemblies, in the Province of *Massovia*, where some Affairs of the Province being in Debate, and one of the Gentry declaring against them, his Party or Mob, not knowing what the Business was, cryed out like Madmen, *that such a Proposal should not pass*. Whereupon, a Witty Fellow, observing their Senseless Rage, started up and cry'd, *Brethren, you are Fools to oppose this*
Affair

Affair, for the Question is only to abate the Price of Wheat and Aqua vite, whereat they immediately consented to, and approved of the Matter, and said, that their Seignior was a Rogue that had betray'd them, and moreover threatned him with their Sabres.

Yet, notwithstanding every Gentleman-Freeholder can vote for whom he pleases, the Election always falls upon some Rich Nobleman, who can Treat high, and make a Figure suitable to this Honourable Charge, Most commonly they chuse Two or Three Deputies for every Palatinate, one of which is always an Understanding Man, and the rest young Noblemen, who are sent up to the Grand Diet, for Honour's Sake, and that they may be Train'd up betimes in the Service of their Country.

When the Deputies are chosen, they receive full Instructions from the Gentry of their Province, of what they are to agree to, and dissent from, in the General Diet, and when once they are intrusted with these *Instructions*, they dare not for their Lives transgress them; so that if but one Deputy has Orders contrary to the rest, it lies in his single Power to break all their Measures.

The Number of all these Nuncios amounts commonly to 174, excluding those of *Prussia*, which are uncertain, and which are sometimes 70 of themselves; and they cannot be chosen Senators, being for the most Part, Elected out of the Common Magistrates,

gistrates, excepting the Judges of the High Tribunals, Assessors, Collectors of the Revenue, &c. Furthermore it is to be observed, that they have certain Salaries assign'd them by the Constitutions in the year 1540.

When all the Deputies of the Provinces are assembled at the Place appointed for the Grand Diet, they divide themselves into three Nations, viz. the Deputies of High and Low *Poland*, and *Lithuania*. Out of these three, they next proceed to the Choice of a Great Mareschal or Speaker, who is the first Time chosen out of the Deputies of *High Poland*, the second out of the Deputies of *Low Poland*, and at the *Third Diet* out of *Lithuania*; and they often spend several Days in Bloody Contests, before they can agree about an Election. Nay, it happens sometimes that they cannot agree at all; and that the Senators and Deputies who make great Preparations to appear in the utmost Pomp and Grandeur, (whereof some come above three Hundred Miles from their Respective Homes) are forced to return back again, for want of Harmony among themselves in the Choice of a Mareschal, who, if he designs to get his Election, must Treat the Gentry all the while, otherwise he would have few or no Votes; it being their Custom to prolong the Election, that they may live the longer at the Candidate's Charge.

The Cause of this great Stickling is, that the Dignity of this Mareschal, is not only Honourable

able, but exceeding beneficial, which occasions several Noblemen among the Deputies, to raise Cabals and Intrigues to secure it to themselves. He has likewise a very great Extent of Authority, and can by his Eloquent and subtle Speeches, turn Affairs to what side almost he pleases; which is the Reason that he is often bribed, either by the King, or Foreign Princes, or some Great Men of the Kingdom.

When the Mareschal or Speaker is Elected, he, with all the Deputies of the Provinces, goes to kiss the King's Hand in the Diet Chamber, where his Majesty sits on a Throne, with his Chief Officers of State about Him, all standing. Then the Chancellor proposes all the Points to be debated in the Diet, and desires the Senators and the Nobility to take them into Consideration; which being done, the King immediately leaves them, lest his Presence might be an Awe upon them, and then the Senators retiring into their Apartments by themselves, and the Nuncio's into theirs, they forthwith set about deliberating on the Articles propos'd.

Not, that I can here pass by unremark'd, a Pleasant Reflection of *Hauteville*, whom I am obliged to Consult, more than Once, to enable me to go thro' with my Undertaking. That Historian, in his Account of *Poland*, says, That the *Poles* employ more Time in Drinking and Feasting, than in Debating Matters of State, for they never think of that Work,

till they begin to want Money to buy *Hungarian* Wine with.

After the Chancellor has thus propos'd to the Diet in the King's Name, all the Articles they are to go upon, the Mareschal of the Nuncios likewise on the Part of the Deputies, presents to the King what they desire of his Majesty, which is Firſt, to make Void all Intrenchments upon the State or the People, and Secondly, to beſtow all vacant Offices upon Persons of Worth and Merit.

The manner of Proceeding in the Nuncio's Houſe is, that no Body offers his Opinion there, till Leave for ſo doing is ask'd of the Mareschal, who alone Introduces all Meſſengers from the King, Senators, Army, or Foreign Princes, and answers them all in the Name of the Houſe: If any Differences alſo ariſe among the Nuncios, or other Tumults occaſioned by the Spectators, he cauſes Silence immediately by ſtriking his Staff againſt the Ground.

The Two Bodies being thus ſeparated, there are nevertheleſs frequent Intercourſes between them, as are between our Two moſt Honourable Houſes of Parliament; and the Nuncios have the ſame Power as the Commons are inveſted with in *England*, of Impeaching all Magiſtrates and Officers in High Stations for corrupt Practices, and put the King in Mind, as often as they think fit, of his Coronation Oath. Moreover, the Nuncio's Power and Authority appears the greater, in that no
Conſti-

Constitution or Law is of any Validity or Force, that was not first begun in their House. Nay, their Mareschal is to make the First Motion for all Laws, and when concluded upon, it is his Office only to Read them before the Senate. For this Reason, about Nine years ago, in the Year 1668, the Mareschal protested against a certain Law, because it was *first concerted* in the Senate.

To confirm this Authority, and for the further Security of the Nuncio's, *Sigismund I.* in the Year 1510, ordained that it should be High Treason to injure any Member of the Diet, tho' he afterwards, in the Year 1530, restrained this Law to the Royal Person, but which, notwithstanding, *John Casimir* in some Measure renew'd in the Year 1640.

As to their further Privileges, if one of these Nuncios commits any Crime whatsoever, he is to be Tryed by his Fellow Members, which Custom is in Force a Month before, and lasts as long after the breaking up of the Diet.

Nor whilst they are thus providing for the Publick Good in their House, does the King and Senate pass their Time idly in theirs, for he, together with the Senators, Tries Criminal Causes for a while, and employs himself upon several other Matters set apart for certain Days, until the Lower House brings up Bills to be debated.

Near the Conclusion of the Diet, and before the Senators and Nuncios are join'd, the Mareſchal of the Lower Houſe, in a ſet Speech, gives Thanks to the Deputies for the Honour and Favour they have conferr'd upon Him, and is answer'd by one of the Nuncio's in the Name of the Reſt, who returns him their Acknowledgments for the faithful Execution of his Office.

To eſtabliſh a Law or Conſtitution in the Diet, is for the Deputies firſt to propoſe it by their Mareſchal, and then the King and Senate are to approve of it. But however, before it can have any Force, it muſt be reviewed by the Great Mareſchal and Two Deputies, or by Three Senators and Six Deputies. Having been thus Review'd, it is Read out in the Diet by the Nuncio Mareſchal, after which the Chancellor demands with a low Voice, *If the King, Senate and Deputies conſent to apply the Seal to it*, which being answer'd in the Affirmative, it is preſently Seal'd and Enroll'd among the Acts in the Registry of *Warſaw*, and this by the Care of the Deputy's Mareſchal, who is to ſee it done ſoon after the Conclusion of the Seſſion. After this, one of the King's Secretaries is to get it Printed and diſperſed among the ſeveral little Diets and Tribunals all over the Kingdom.

By the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the Diet ought never to ſit above ſix Weeks, and the Gentry are ſo very exact in obſerving this Privilege, that

that as soon as that Time is expired, they send their Mareſchal to take Leave of the King in their Name, and to acquaint him, that they intend to wait on Him and kiſs his Hand ; and they are ſo obſtinately bent upon abiding by this Cuſtom, that tho' the Urgencies of State require never ſo ſhort a Continuance of the Diet after the Time preſcribed, yet they always vigorously oppoſe it, as they did in the Year 1649, when the *Tartars* and *Coffacks* had almoſt over-run the Kingdom.

The Reason, it is to be preſumed, why the Members of the Diet are ſo punctual in obſerving this Conſtitution, above any other, is, becauſe by that Period of Time, their Money is generally exhausted, and the Proviſions which they bring in Waggonſ from Home, as Beer, Wine, Meat, Fowl, &c. are conſumed by the great Train of Guards and other Domeſticks which they have with them. Beſides, tho' no other Perſon but the King, Senate, and Nuncios, can have any Vote in the Diet, vaſt Numbers of other People every Seſſion flock thither, and moſt commonly Foreign Princes chuſe then to ſend their Embaſſadors with large Retinues according to the Intereſt they have to ſupport in the Diet. At this Time alſo the greateſt part of the Nobility, that have wherewithal to appear in any ſort of Grandeur, meet here together with their Wives and Children, tho' they have no other Buſineſs than to ſee, and be ſeen. It is then their Sons get Acquainted with others of the Young Gentry, and often are Married to ſome

of the young Ladies that come in like manner to be observed, and to get Husbands. In a word, the Diet is a kind of General Rendezvous of all the People of Quality in the Kingdom, as Well Men and Women, as Children; so that what City soever the Diet sits in, there are always Forty Thousand, and sometimes Fifty Thousand Persons more than its wonted Inhabitants.

At this Time likewise there is always such a crowd of *Soldiers, Heydukes, and Footmen* in the Streets, that it is not Safe to be Abroad in the Night, for fear of being Robb'd or strip'd Naked, as it happens very often; For the *Polish* Gentry give so very short Allowance to their Guards, and Servants; a Dragoon having but Fifteen Pence, of our Money, *per* Week, to Maintain his Horse and himself, that they must be forc'd to Rob, and be otherwise very Industrious to Live.

Every Member of the Diet, after having obtain'd Leave of the Marshal, who can only stop their Mouths, has a Right to Speak and Harangue there as long as he pleases; nay can say what he will, for they often abuse one another, and affront their King to his Face, branding him with the infamous Titles of *Perjur'd, Unjust, &c.* They very often likewise threaten both him and his Children, upon the least Grounds of Complaint. The occasion of this generally is, that they come Drunk into the Diet, and consequently talk only like our Quakers, as the Spirit moves, either good
or

or bad. Nay, you shall have some of these Fuddle-caps talk Nonsense for two or three Hours together, trespassing on the Patience of the more sober sort, by a railing, carping, injurious, and ill digested Discourse, without any ones ever daring to interrupt them, though they spin it out never so long; for if the Marshal himself should then presume to bid them hold their Tongues, they would infallibly dissolve the Diet, by Protesting against the Proceedings thereof. So that the most prudent way is always to hear them out, and to shew no dislike to the Impertinent Speeches they make.

Hereupon there is no Body but sees the unhappy State of the Government of *Poland*, that their Constitutions and Privileges are most pernicious; and that the Unlimited and Absolute Liberty of each Member makes all the Republick Slaves to the Whimsy or factious Obstinacy of one particular Man. For can there be any thing more unreasonable, than after the Senators and Deputies have come from most remote Provinces with excessive Expence to the Diet, and labour'd joyntly with their Sovereign to conclude Matters for the common Interest of the Nation, it should be in the Power of one Disaffected or Corrupted Person, without giving any further Reason than his own Pleasure, to annul the Proceedings of the rest, and to Dissolve the Diet, at a Juncture especially, when there is the greatest Necessity for their Concurrence.

Thus

Thus, Sir, you may perceive that Affairs of the greatest consequence depend not only on the prudent Deliberations of Sober Men, but also on the capricious Humours of the Senseless and Depraved; which *excessive Liberty* of every private Man, shews that both the Nation and the Diet have none at all.

Yet there is a Policy in concluding Matters by Unanimous Consent, since this Constitution was Establish'd to deprive their Kings of all Means and Opportunities of ever becoming Absolute; for they imagin'd it to be morally impossible (as it really is) that whatever Interest or Authority the King might get in the Country, he should ever prevail so far as to bring all the Members of the Diet (tho' he might have the Majority) to consent to any Clause or Bill which might any ways be injurious to the Nation.

From what has been said, you may have just Reason to admire how the *Polish* Kingdom could subsist for above a Thousand Years with such bad *Constitutions*, and still possess not only vast Tracts of Land, but also hitherto enjoy their Freedom and Liberties in their utmost Force and Extent. 'Tis wonderful also, that far from losing or limiting any of their Privileges, they rather enlarge and increase them as often as they Elect their Kings. Nay, considering the Power of their Sovereign, the Absolute Prerogative every Gentleman has in his own Lands,

Lands, in a manner above the Laws, the Turbulency of their Diets, and the small Obligation the Officers think they lie under to perform their several Duties, the *Poles* themselves have own'd it to be no less than a Miracle, that they should have subsisted as a Kingdom and Republick so long, I having heard them to say, *That their Preservation was to be attributed to God alone, that protected them to be the invincible Bulwark of Europe against the Progress of the Common Enemies of Christendom, the Turks and Tartars.*

But here we have no need to have Recourse to any peculiar Providence bestowed by God upon the *Poles*, since by our own ordinary recourse to all Natural Causes, we may easily infer that the *Polish* Nation could not but subsist hitherto only, but likewise must, in all probability last as long as any Kingdom in *Europe*, and this for the following Reasons.

First, Because tho' the King's Power is limited by the Law, his Credit and Authority nevertheless is so great, that he can dispose the Affairs of the *Diet* as he pleases, especially where they tend to the publick Good of the Kingdom; for few, if any one at all, will venture to protest against any Proceedings there, that are for the Interest of the Nation, unless they are supported by a good Party of Senators and Deputies; and this, because it is not only infamous and scandalous to his Person, but also prejudicial to his Posterity that breaks up a
Diet,

Diet, and not a little dangerous to his Life, by irritating and disobeying so Powerful a Body. For they are commonly very liberal, in their Passion, of Slashes and Cuts with their Scymitars, on any ill-natur'd corrupted Member that opposes the Interest of his Country, though in reality he has the Law on his side. It is certain therefore, that when any Person withstands the rest in the Diet, it is either because the King has not sufficiently employ'd his Authority to pacifie him, or his Policy to win him with some small Present; or else because he does not care they should agree, or lastly, in regard to a considerable number of Senators and Deputies that support, or rather employ him to protest against an Act which they do not think it for their Interest to let pass.

Secondly, The Order of the Government, and their Courage and Resolution, does not so much contribute towards their Preservation, as the Envy and Jealousies of their Neighbours among themselves; for when the King of *Sweden* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* made War with *Poland*, the *Tartars* came to assist the *Poles*, and at the same time the King of *Denmark* made a Diversion in *Sweden*, when the *Tartars* likewise declared War against *Poland*, most commonly either the Emperor of *Germany*, or the Czar of *Muscovy* comes to its Relief, or else make great Diversions on their sides. For as it is the Interest of the Princes their Neighbours, not to let them grow to an Exorbitance of Power, so it is not at all for their Benefit to let them perish;
for

for whosoever could be able to Conquer *Poland*, and unite it to his Dominions, would quickly be too Powerful to be put in Ballance with the rest.

Thirdly, The *Poles*, besides this, can the more easily conserve their Dominions, by Reason that they have very few strong Forts or Castles to shelter their Enemies in, where they happen to make any Progress in their Country; yet I verily believe that an Army of Fifty Thousand Men well Disciplin'd, would at present Conquer the whole Kingdom of *Poland*; tho' at the same time I am of Opinion that an Hundred Thousand could not be able to keep it. *Carolus Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, with about Forty Thousand Men, entirely subdu'd *Poland* in less than Two Years Time; yet when he began to encroach too much upon their Constitutions and Liberties, the *Polish* Gentry joyn'd unanimously together, and soon drove the *Swedes* out of the Kingdom. The *Tartars* in numerous Bodies make frequent Incursions into this open Country, but still as soon as they have loaded themselves with their Booty, they make all possible hast away. The Loss of *Caminiac* makes the *Poles* admire at their own Policy in having no strong Towns; for they say, had not that been so well Fortified, it had not serv'd for shelter to a strong Garrison of *Turks* and *Tartars* at their Doors. Infomuch, that it may be observed that Forts and Castles, which other Nations account their greatest Security, would inevitably be the Ruine of *Poland*, they being neither well skill'd in Besieging Towns, nor plentifully

tifully Stor'd with good Artillery, Engineers, Ammunition, or other Necessaries, since they never were, nor will be able to re-take *Caminiec*, tho' it is a Place of no extraordinary Strength.

I come now to my last Particular, which is a short view of their Customs and Manners, such as I have already given no Account of, and must assure you, that both Men and Women are Extravagant to the last degree, insomuch that some among them will have Fifty Suits of Cloaths at once, all as Rich as possible. But what shews their Prodigality much more is, that they will have their Servants go almost as well clad as themselves, whereby they generally waſt away their Estates in a short time, and are reduced to great Poverty and Want. As to their Dwelling Places, they never live above stairs, and their Houses are not united; the Kitchen is on one side, the Stable on another, the House on another, and the Gate in the Front; all which make a Court, either Square or Round.

The inside of these Houses is generally hung with Tapeſtry, or Arras, and all the rest of their Household-stuff proportionably suitable. Yet towards *Tartary* they have little or no Rich Furniture, and the Gentry content themselves with a few small Beds with Taffeta-Curtains, just enough to Lodge their Families; for if any go to lie at their Houses, they for the most part, carry their Beds along with them. Though it be extream Cold in
Poland,

Poland, yet will almost every one of these Gentry have a Bagnio in his House, in which the Women have their separate Apartments. There are likewise publick Baths in every City and Town for the use of the Common-People, which they frequent not only in Summer, but also in Winter, from the Use of which, in all probability it happens that the *Polish* Children seldom break out in their Head, or Face, and that not one of a Thousand, is distorted, crooked, or ill-shaped, as in other Countries.

The *Poles* are generally so great Admirers of Splendor and Shew, that their Ladies scarce stir out of Doors, tho' little further than cross the way, without a Coach and Six Horses, either to Church, or to visit a Neighbour; but the Men for the greatest part go on Horseback, and rarely on Foot, which they look upon as ignoble. When the Gentry of either Sex go abroad at Night, they have Twenty four or more White Wax Flambeaux carried before their Coach. Women of Quality for the generality, have their Trains born up by He or She Dwarfs; they have also an Old Woman with them, which they call their *Governante*, and an Old Gentleman Usher, whose Office it is to follow their Coach on Foot, and to help them out of it when they alight; though the Reason of these two Old Peoples waiting on them, does not proceed from any Jealousie in their Husbands, as in most of the Eastern Countries, since the *Polish* Ladies are generally very Modest, and do
not

not at all abuse the great Liberty that is allowed them.

As the *Poles* bear their own Losses, and suffer all Disasters with a great deal of Temper, so likewise they regard the Miseries and Misfortunes of others with the same indifference; for they will often stand and see a House burn, without offering in the least, to lend a Helping Hand to quench the Fire. Neither are they more indulgent to their Children, or on the contrary, the Children to their Parents, both of whom are reciprocally suffer'd to continue Slaves to the *Tartars*, when but a small Summ of Money would purchase their Redemption.

As to their Marriages, it must first be observed, that the Feasts of those Gentry always lasts Three Days, be they that make them either Poor or Rich, wherefore they are necessarily exceeding Expensive; since if a Lady give in Matrimony any one of her Waiting-Maids, she generally expends as much as for one of her Daughters; An Instance of which I saw at Court, during my Lord Embassador *Hyde's* stay at *Zolkiew*, when the Queen Celebrated the Nuptials of one of her Maids of Honour, after this manner. The first and second Day She gave a very Magnificent Feast, for which Purpose a large Hall was pitch'd upon, where Three Tables were plac'd. At the first sate the King and Queen, in a manner, that both faced the Entrance into the Hall.

Next

Next the Queen sat the Couple that were to be Married; and next to the King, the Pope's Nuncio, and Archbishop of *Gnesna*, with the Foreign Embassadors. At the two other Tables, extending the whole Length of the Hall, were placed all the Ladies, Senators, and Officers, except only such as attended upon the King and Queen, all Rank'd according to their respective Precedence.

This Feast began both Days precisely at Four in the Afternoon, and lasted to the same Hour of the next Morning; and it was observable that the Senators eat very little, but drank *Hungarian* Wine to an immoderate Degree; nor did the Bishops themselves shew any great Tokens of Continence, they leaving their Seats very often, to go up to the King's Table, and drink his Majesty's Health on their Knees. The Ladies out of Modesty only touch'd the Tops of the Glasses with their Lips, and so sat them down before them, or pour'd them into their Plates, in such a manner that abundance more Wine was spilt, than drank by them.

When they had sitten about five or six Hours at Table, the Violins and a little sort of portable Organ began to strike up, and then they spent the rest of the Time in Dancing. In this Exercise every Body joyn'd, and even I my self, who have no manner of Relish for such unedifying Vagary's, had a *Madonna* put into my Hand by the Bishop of *Plosko*, whom I had the Honour as Domestick Chaplain to the Embassador from the King of

Great Britain, to sit next to. Those that began this Whimsical way of shaking the Feet, were the most Ancient Senators, and old Ladies, who moved slowly about, like so many Fryars and Nuns in Procession; yet tho' the Dance began with such Gravity and Formality, it was ended with a great deal of Hurry and Confusion.

On the Second Day, all the Guests presented the Bride with something New, and none gave less than a piece of Plate; which Presents were all made in the Presence of the Queen; it being the Custom to perform this Ceremony just before they sit down to Table. These made a good part of the Brides Portion.

On the Third Day the Espousals were Solemnized after this manner. All the Guests accompanied the Bridegroom and Bride on Horseback to Church, as likewise in their return Home. During all the time of their going and coming, the Trumpets sounded from the Balconies on each side of the way. When the Bride had been conducted to her Husband's House, where a Noble Entertainment had been prepar'd; she at the Departure of the Company after Dinner was ended, fell a Crying, it being the Custom it seems in *Poland* for Maids to weep at that Time, and to seem concern'd for fear they should be thought Impudent, and Immodest.

The Men and Women that stand Godfathers and Godmothers together at Christenings, are thenceforward deem'd to be Cousins, and Relations, tho' they were not so before, and consequently cannot be Married to each other, without a Dispensation from the Bishop of the Diocese.

The Ceremonies of Burial also in *Poland*, are usually Celebrated with so great Pomp and Magnificence, that one would rather take them for Triumphs, than Interments. At these the Corpse having been put into a Velvet Coffin, with large thick Silver Plates at each Corner, is placed in a Hearse or Chariot with Six Horses, all cover'd with black Housings. The Coffin has a large black Velvet Pall thrown over it, with a Cross of Red Sattin in the middle, and six long black Silk Tassels hanging down from it, which are born by as many of the deceased's Domesticks, all in close Mourning. Before the Chariot march several Priests, Monks, and a great Number of People, each of them carrying a white Wax Torch lighted in his Hand; next to whom, and immediately before the Corpse, come Three Men on Horseback, who carry the Arms of the Deceased, *viz.* his Sword, his Launce, and his Dart. The Procession thus set out, moves very slowly, so that they always come late to Church. After the Burial Service is over, those that carried the Arms enter the Church on Horseback, and furiously Riding up to the Coffin, break them thereupon, after which the Body is Interr'd. Then they

return to the House, where there is always a very Sumptuous Supper prepared, at which not only the Lay Guests drive away Sorrow, by Swilling to Excess, but force the Clergy to do the like, by the same Acts of Intemperance.

I shall close all with the Customs and Manners of Travelling in *Poland*. As an Introduction to which, you are to understand, that there are scarce any Inns in that Country, except those the Natives call *Karczma's*, where Travellers are obliged to lodge with the Cattle. These *Inns*, or rather long *Stables*, are all built up with Boards, and cover'd with Straw, within there is no Furniture, neither are there any Windows, but all the Light comes in either at Holes made by the Weather, or the Crevices of ill-joined Boards. 'Tis True, at the further End they have a little Chamber with a Fire-Hearth; but to make an Abatement for that, there is no Lodging in it, because of the Gnats, Fleas, Bugs, and especially the Noisom Smell that incommodes it. For if they happen to have a little Window there (which is a Rarity if they do) yet they never open it, tho' the Weather be at its Extremity of Heat: So that Strangers chuse to lie in the aforesaid Stable where the *Gospodarz* or Inn-Keeper Lodges himself and his Family, than to be suffocated by the Stink and Smell of so close and small a Room. In the long Room there is also an intolerable Smell, occasion'd by a parcel of rotten Cabbages, which those People always keep by them. And this, though it may be agreeable enough

nough, to the Natives who are used to it, yet to Strangers it must be very offensive.

In the Inns or Stables, there are no Tables or Beds, except one of the last in the little Room just mention'd, which no body cares to lie in, because they can have no Sheets but what are as coarse as Sackcloth, and have been often lain in before. Neither is the Straw in the Stable much better, because (even of that) every Company cannot have fresh: For the *Gospodarz* after his Guests are gone, generally gather it up, and preserve it for New-Comers. Yet is it, in this Condition, preferable to the Bed, by Reason that he most commonly Airs it after it had been used.

By reason of this ill Entertainment on the Roads, all Travellers in this Country are obliged to have a *Calash* with two Horses, wherein they carry all their Necessaries and Provisions. Their Beds, Quilts, Bolsters, Sheets, and the like, are generally pack'd up in a large Serge Bag, which afterwards serves them instead of a Seat in their Leathern Convenience. They must provide also for the Belly, by a Case of Bottles wherein to put the Drink they make use of on the Road, and a Basket for their Meat, Bread, &c. Moreover they must furnish themselves with every individual Thing that they may have occasion for, and take care to renew what they have Exhausted, when ever an Opportunity shall offer; For he that expects any thing but the

indifferent Lodging which I have before spoken of, will be in a fair way of lying down in it Supperless.

Thus you may perceive, Sir, that one that Travels in *Poland*, must as it were Tortoise, or *Tartar*-like, carry his whole House with him, and besides undergo not a few Incommodities to Boot. However, when a Man is provided as above, he may Travel at a very inconsiderable Expence ; for Lodging, as indeed it ought, costs but very little, and there is nothing to pay for any thing else, because it cannot be got ; the Reason I suppose being, that the Gentry of the Country never offer to Pay for what they call for, since there is no way to force them to it. So that when they ask for any thing, the *Gospodarz* always puts them off with a *Nie Musz*, i. e. I have nothing. Yet nevertheless, when they have any thing to spare, they will freely give part of it to Strangers ; tho' generally there being but few Travellers in that Country, they provide only for their own Families. Therefore when Travellers happen to be in want of Provisions, they are used to apply themselves to the *Devoir*, or Lord of the Village, who forthwith supplies them *Gratis*.

Poland being for the most part a flat and Champian Country, a Calash and Two Horses will rid a great deal of Ground there in a Day. Some of the Gentry are so provident as to drive their own Calashes

Calashes themselves, but of these there are but few, Statelines being more in vogue with them, than to suffer them to stoop to an Employ fit for their meanest Servants. When they come to the Inn, they generally put their Horses to Grass, because the *Gospodarz* will not be easily induced to Trust them for Hay. There are some likewise that Travel on Horseback, with a Quilt for their Bed, about a Foot and half broad, laid under their Saddle. They commonly employ the *Gospodarz* to fetch them in Beer, Bread, and whatever else they have occasion for, and which Service he is not to refuse at his Peril.

He that Travels in Winter, will find it a very hard thing to rest a Nights, especially on Holy-days, because then all the Peasants of the Village are gather'd together to Carouse and make Merry in that Long Room where you are obliged to Lodge for want of a Fire elsewhere, for at that time there is no Sleeping without. Nay, as I said before, scarce with it; tho' Men are commonly weary when they come off a Journey, these Men making such a continued Din in your Ears with their excessive Singing and Dancing about the Room, which none perform more awkwardly, there being a Custom of Rewarding a Hard Drinker here in *Poland*, by presenting him with a Shirt, Frock, Handkerchief, and the like.

Yet notwithstanding this Vice to which they are most unmercifully addicted, I may affirm, That as

to the Character of the *Poles* in General, they exceed all the Nations of *Europe* in vivacity of Spirit, strength of Body, and length of Life ; which cannot be occasion'd by their Climate, because the *Swedes*, *Muscovites*, and *Germans* live all under the same Parallel, and yet enjoy not the like Vigor and Health ; and therefore must proceed,

First, From their Diet, which as to Meat, is generally fresh Roasted Flesh, (for they scarce ever eat any boyl'd, or Salt, which causes the Scurvy) and Fowl, which increaseth the Volatile and hard Salts, and gives being to their Vigour of Body and Soul.

Secondly, From their Drink, which is Spirituous and Strong, being chiefly *Hungarian* Wine burnt, or Anniseed-water, both which they guzzle down in great Quantities, almost all Day long ; the Poorer sort having a Liquor distilled from Wheat, Oats, or Barley, which the Gentry rectifie with Aniseeds, or Aromatics.

Thirdly, From their Living Hardly, for they hate Effeminacy ; and a poor Country Cottage pleases them as well as a Palace, and they frequently Weave Tapestry and Arras as they Travel along the Road. Nay, many of them will Sleep in Time of Frost and Snow without any Bed, or other Conveniency ; and the little Children Two Months after they have been Born, have been carried about stark Naked in that Season.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, From Hunting, which is very much in use with them, they being expert in Horsemanship, to the greatest Perfection.

Fifthly, From other Exercises, as Dancing, Leaping, Vaulting, Jumping. They are likewise exceedingly given to Talking, wherewith they agree with the *French*.

Sixthly, Their Hard Beds, Fasting, and Temperance in Eating, very much contribute towards their long Lives; for hard Beds Knit their Joints, and Temperance at Meals revives their Spirits. Their Slaves among them have no Beds, and the Masters seldom use any thing but Quilts.

Seventhly, Their Health, Vigour, and long Lives, may reasonably receive an Addition from their great Freedom and Privileges; for where a Slavish Dependance hebetates and blunts the Mind, and consequently enervates the Body, Liberty exhilerates the one, and by that means strengthens the other.

Thus having acquitted my self of every Particular I gave the Promise of, I must in Discharge of the Friendship you Honour me with, put the last Hand to this long Tiresom Letter; which I cannot better do, than by my Addresses to the Great Preserver of Mankind, to keep you in the same State of Health which I left you in at my Departure

ture from *Oxfordshire*; that I may at my Return (which I more and more wish for, through the Consideration of the great Advantages I shall receive from it) be restored to the Happiness of your Conversation; than which, nothing can be more improving to, or desired by

*My best Friend, and most honoured Instructor,
Your most faithful*

and most obliged Servant,

Dantzic,

Dec. 16. 1677.

ROBERT SOUTH

Soon after the Doctor's Return from *Poland*, he was by the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of *Westminster*, in Consideration of his great Abilities to discharge the Pastoral Office, made Choice of to succeed Dr. *Edward Hinton* as Rector of *Islip* in *Oxfordshire*, a Living of 200 l. per Annum, 100 of which, out of his Generous Temper he allow'd to the Reverend Mr. *Penny*, (Student of *Christ-Church*) his Curate, and the other, he expended in the Educating and Apprenticing the Poorer Children of that Place. After having been Two Years Incumbent there, he caus'd the Chancel that had been suffer'd miserably to run to Ruine by his Predecessor to be Rebuilt, as appears from the following Inscription over the entrance into the Chancell,

ROBERTUS SOUTH S. T. P.

In Ecclesiam hanc Parochialem,

Inductus Anno 1678.

propriis

*Propriis Sumptibus hanc
Cancellariam a Fundamentis
Instauravit Extruxitq; Anno Domini 1680.*

He likewise, having found the Mansion House belonging to the Rector much too mean for the Largeness of the Stipend, and having heard of the Honour done to that Village by the Birth of EDWARD the Confessor (as that King himself declares in his Charter, whereby he gives that Village and other Lands thereunto adjacent, to St. PETER'S Church in *Westminster*) caus'd the shatter'd Remains of it to be totally pull'd down, and an Edifice erected in a more convenient part of the Town, the Land upon which he Built it, with a handsom Garden, he purchas'd, as a perpetual Mansion for himself and Successors, which may now vie with most Parsonage Houses in *England*, as may be seen in Dr. *White Kennet's* Parochial Antiquities, wherein he gives a view of it in a Plate, inscrib'd to Dr. *South*, whose Coat of Arms is Engraved over it with this Inscription, *Viro Reverendo Roberto South, S. T. P. Rectori Ecclesie de Islip, Tabulam hanc quæ amplum & Elegantem Rectorie Mansum suis impensis constructum Representat, D. D. White Kennet. Nos admiremur, imitentur Poster.* Tho' in what Year this House was Built, I am not hitherto informed.

In the Year 1681, the Dr. who was then one of his Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, being in waiting, Preach'd before the King upon these words, *the Lot is cast into the Lap, but the Disposing of it is* of

of the Lord. Wherein having spoken of the various Changes and Dispensations of Providence, and the Unaccountable Accidents and Particulars of Life, he introduces these three Examples of unexpected Advancements after this manner.

“ Who that had look’d upon *Agathocles* first handling the Clay, and making Pots under his Father, and afterwards turning Robber, could have thought that from such a Condition, he should come to be King of *Sicily* ?

“ Who that had seen *Masimello* a poor Fisherman with his Red Cap, and his Angle, would have reckoned it possible to see such a pitiful Thing within a Week after shining in his Cloth of Gold, and with a Word or a Nod, absolutely commanding the whole City of *Naples* ?

“ And who that had beheld such a Bankrupt, beggarly Fellow as *Cromwell*, first entering the Parliament House, with a Threadbare Torn Cloak, Greasie Hat (perhaps neither of them paid for) could have suspected that in the space of so few Years, he should, by the Murder of one King, and the Banishment of another, ascend the Throne ? At which the King fell into a violent fit of Laughter ; and turning to the Lord *Rochester* said, *Ods fish Lory, your Chaplain must be a Bishop, therefore put me in mind of him at the next Death !*

During the remaining Part of King *Charles* the 1st’s Reign, wherein he continued a strenuous Assertor of the Prerogatives of the Crown, against such as were industrious towards their Diminution, what by the Interest of his Patron who at his Return from

from his Embassy was made Lord *Hyde*, and Viscount *Wooton-Basset*, and what by his own Merits, he had several Offers of Advancement into the Hierarchy, which he modestly declined, as having wherewithal to support himself according to the Dignities of the Church he stood possessd of, and the Distribution of Charities he had already settled, and intended to lay Schemes for.

In order to this he made some Purchases of Houses on *Ludgate Hill*, and *Token-House Yard*, which puts me in Mind of a Tenant of his, one Mr. *Taylor*, then Living upon *Ludgate Hill*, a rigid Presbyterian, who, during the Time of *Oats's* Sham Plot, had nothing but the Whore of *Babylon* before his Eyes, and dreamt of nothing but Evidences, Forty Thousand *Spanish* Pilgrims with long Bills, Butchers, Knives, Gags, Grid-Irons, and what not. This Man, upon his coming to the Doctor in order to pay his Rent, could not but discover his Fears, of the Introduction of Popery, and the dismal Circumstances of Fire and Faggot, with many other Terrible Ideas of Persecution and Enslavement. At which the Doctor Smiling, bid him be of good Chear, and very briskly told him, that *Churchmen* indeed might have some Grounds for such Apprehensions, but that *Persons* of his Persuasion had nothing to fear on the Account of Religion, since they were too great Hypocrites, to die Martyrs.

On the Accession of King *James* the II^d to the Throne, notwithstanding, his Patron was then Earl of *Rochester*, and Advanced to the Dignity of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and his Lordship's Brother

ther the Earl of *Clarendon* was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, made him an Offer of an Archbishoprick of that Kingdom, he continued fix'd in his Resolves of living privately, which even those Two Noble Peers themselves were forced to do soon after, by their dismissal from Court: For that Unhappy Prince being fully bent upon a General Toleration of all Christian Dissenters from the Church Establish'd, and push'd forwards upon Extremities to obtain Liberty for the Exercise of the Romish Religion, by taking off the Test and Penal Laws, took upon him to Closet the Chief Men about him, and either to bring them over to his Will by Persuasions, or Threats.

Among others, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was his Majesty's Brother in Law, and therefore very dear to him, was examin'd concerning his Opinion and Sentiments relating to the King's Will and Pleasure, which his Majesty was fully bent to have Obedience pay'd to, by all about him, on Pain of Removal. Hereupon the good Earl, after having like a faithful Counsellor, pointed out the fatal Consequences of his Majesties impolitick Resolves, and beg'd him to desist from an Enterprize, that would be found impracticable, very submissively and prudently made Answer, that he had been bred up in the Principles of a Religion which taught him that *Obedience* to his Prince which he had hitherto never failed in, and that his *Duty* to God, who was the King of Kings, obliged him to continue in the Practice of them. However, if his Majesty should be so pleas'd (so certain was he of the Truth of the

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Doctrines he had receiv'd from the Primitive Church) he was willing to abide by the Result of a Dispute between Two *Church of England* Divines, and Two of the Church of *Rome*, being not fearful of venturing to say, that to which side soever the Victory should incline, his Lordship would from that Time, abide by that which conquer'd. Hereunto the King very readily agreed, and immediately nominated the Fathers *Giffard*, and *Tilden* for his two Champions: And appointed the *Rule of Faith* to be the subject Matter of the Controversy. The Persons at first propos'd by the Earl, were Dr. *Jane* and Dr. *South*, but the latter was so unacceptable to his Majesty, by the bitter Invectives he was said to make Use of in the Pulpit against the Papists and Presbyterians, who then joined in their Endeavours for Liberty of Conscience, that he told his Lordship, he could not agree to the Choice of Dr. *South*, who instead of Arguments, would bring railing Accusations, and had not Temperament of Mind enough, to go through a Dispute that required the greatest Attention and Calmness. Hereupon the Earl chose Dr. *Patrick*, then Dean of *Peterborough*, and Minister of *St. Paul's Covent Garden*, a very able Divine, in his Room, but would needs have the Assistance of Dr. *South*, in a Consultation held the Night before the Conference was to commence, wherein were such irrefragable Arguments drawn up by him, on the Subject they were to Discourse upon, as totally obtain'd a Conquest over their Two Opponents, and made the King dismiss his two pretended Advocates, with this Rebuke, *That he could*
say

say more in the Behalf of his Religion than they could, and that he never heard a good Cause manag'd so ill, nor a bad One so well: So that if Dr. South could not be said to be in the Battle, he was a very great Instrument of obtaining the Victory; and Dr. *Jane* has often own'd (tho' a most Excellent Casuist himself) that the Auxiliary Arguments contributed by Dr. *South*, did more towards flinging their Antagonists on their Backs, than his, or his Collegues.

The Residue of King *James's* Reign being taken up in Acts of Bigotry and Violence, after he had Quell'd *Monmouth's* Rebellion (towards the Suppression of which the Doctor openly profess'd, that if there should be Occasion, he would change his Black Gown for a Buff-Coat) gives us no farther Particulars of Dr. *South*, than that he spent the greatest part of his Time at *Islip*, and *Oxford*, and sometimes at his Paternal Estate at *Caversham* in *Oxfordshire* near *Reading*, where he was busied in Preparing most of those Excellent Sermons for the Press, which have since seen the Light, and exercised himself in Devotions to deprecate the Judgments that seem'd to hang over the National Church. Tho' I must not forget one Passage relating to him at the latter end of these Times, which notwithstanding it was too Light for serious Thoughts gave Occasion for Mirth, and may serve to shew the Spirit and Vivacity of the Man whom it owes its Being to. Mr. *Lob* a Dissenting Teacher, who was so much in Favour at Court, as to be admitted into that King's most Honourable Privy Council, being to Preach, one Day, while the Doctor was obliged to be Resident at *Westminster*,
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the latter had the Curiosity, since Fame had spoke so much of him, to be one of his Auditors incognito. Accordingly he disguis'd himself, and took a Seat in his Conventicle, where the Preacher being mounted up in the Pulpit, and naming his Text, made nothing of splitting it into 26 Divisions; upon which, separately, he very gravely undertook to expatiate in their Order. Hereupon the Doctor rose up, and jogging a Friend who bore him Company, said; *let us go home and fetch our Gowns and Slippers, for I find this Man will make Night Work of it.*

Yet how ludicrous soever such Expressions as these may seem, when applied to a Man of his Character, so inexhaustible and flowing was his Wit, that it even broke through him in his most serious Meditations; and it ought to be imputed to his Zeal for the Honour of the True Religion, if he in many of his Discourses is found harsh and acrimonious. Lukewarmness in Devotion was what his Soul abhor'd, and he look'd upon *Sectarists* of all sorts, as Enemies, who tho' different in Persuasion, join'd together in Attempts for the Destruction of the Holy Catholick Church, and to thwart their Measures, he was unwearied in his Persuasions, wheresoever he went, and wheresoever he Preach'd, to excite his Audience to the most Ardent and Holy Affections for the Cause of God and his Church. Not that he, as many others did, levell'd his Satires against the Court, or would speak Evil of those Powers, whom God in his wise Dispensation had set over us; Not that he utter'd Grievances from

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the Pulpit, or sought the Alteration of the Government, by bringing in Texts of Scripture in Justification of Resistance and taking Arms against the Prince, to whose Pernicious and Traiterous Ministers they were wholly to be Imputed. But when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishops that Signed the Invitation to the Prince of *Orange* to come over and Rescue our Laws and Liberties, would have had him to do the same, he very handsomely refus'd it, by telling them *His Religion had taught him to bear all Things, and howsoever it should please God, that he should Suffer, he would by the Divine Assistance, continue to abide by his Allegiance, and use no other Weapons but his Prayers and Tears for the Recovery of his Sovereign from the Wicked and unadvised Counsels wherewith he was entangled.*

However, when the *Revolution* was happily brought about, and the King thought fit to Abdicate his Kingdom by flying into *France*; when the *Convention* had Settled the Crown upon the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, and he saw himself deserted by that Sovereign who should have continued to Protect him; he after many struggles with himself, and many Conflicts with others, was convinced that Obedience and Protection were reciprocal Terms, and that when the latter ceased to be of any Use to him, the former was void also; tho' as to the time of his Closing in with the Government newly Settled, I cannot be particular; notwithstanding I am perfectly well assured that he stood out for some time, and at last did not come in upon any Temporal Considerations: It having always been known to
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be his Practice, rather to flight Riches, than to have an over-weaning desire after them ; and to keep his Conscience void of Offence towards God, and towards Man, than to indulge any Earthly Appetite.

Yet though Dr. South complied so far with the Necessity of the Times, as to acknowledge the Settlement to be Legal, upon the Foot of the Revolution, when Offers were made him by some Great Men at Helm, who had then the Benefit of the Royal Ear, of procuring him a very great Dignity in the Church, upon the Vacating several of the Episcopal Sees, for refusing the Oaths of Allegiance to their Majesty's King William and Queen Mary, in the Year 1691. he very handsomly excus'd himself, by declaring, *That notwithstanding he himself saw nothing that was contrary to the Laws of God, and the common practice of all Nations to submit to Princes in Possession of the Throne, yet others might have their Reasons for a contrary Opinion ; and he bless'd God, that he was neither so Ambitious, nor in want of Preferment, as for the sake of it, to build his Rise upon the Ruines of any one Father of the Church, who for Piety, good Morals, and strictness of Life which every one of the Deprived Bishops were famed for might be said not to have left their Equal ; being afterwards follow'd in this by the great Dr. Beveridge, late Bishop of St. Asaph, who likewise refused the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, while the last Incumbent, Dr. Kenn was living. " These (speaking of the Deprived Bishops, says the Author of the History of Faction) " were the Meek, Pious and Learned Dr. Sancroft,*

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Seraphick Dr. *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, the Evangelical Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, the Vigilant Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, the Resolute and Undaunted Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*; the Unchangeable Dr. *Lloyd*, Bishop of *Norwich*, and the Irreproachable Dr. *Frampton*, Bishop of *Gloucester*.

To return to Dr. *South*, who by no means liked the Act of *Toleration* for all Protestant Dissenters, nor could well relish some Proceedings at Court, whereby he suspected (how justly I will not take upon me to determine) some Persons to be Countenanced, and in great Power, who were Enemies to the Church establish'd: He laid hold of all Occasions to decry their measures, and baffle their Designs. And as he had vigorously exerted himself with the *Commissioners* appointed by the King in 1689, for an Union with Dissenting Protestants, in behalf of our *Liturgy* and Forms of Prayer, and entreated them by no means to part with any of its *Ceremonies*, that might have endanger'd the loss of the whole; so he scarce ever Preach'd, but he set before his Auditors the Mischiefs that would arise by admitting such Vipers into the Revenues of the Church, that would eat their way through their adopted (not natural) Mothers Bowels. This he chiefly undertook to do, by exposing their insufficiency for the great Work of the Ministry, by ridiculing their want of fit Knowledge, and by setting them forth in such Colours, as might at once give his Audience Ideas of Pleasure and Horror, in Reflections upon their
Deliver-

Deliverance from the Usurpations of such pretended Gospel-Mongers, and the Unhappy Circumstances they would be involved in, should the like *Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing* be again in Power. And this he never did better or more effectually than in a Sermon Preach'd at the Abby Church of *Westminster*, in the Year 1692, upon 1 Cor. xii. 4. *Now there are Diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit*; wherein among other acute and biting Sarcasms relating to the Practices of Dissenting Teachers in the Times of *Usurpation and Rebellion*, he thus speaks of them: " Amongst those of the late *Reforming Age*,
 " all Learning was utterly cryed down, so that with
 " them the best *Preachers* were such as could not *Read*,
 " and the ablest *Divines* such as could hardly *Spell*
 " the Letter. To be *Blind* was with them the proper Qualification of a *Spiritual Guide*, and to be
 " *Book Learned* as they call'd it, and to be *Irreligious*, were convertible Terms. None were
 " thought fit for the *Ministry* but *Tradesmen* and
 " *Mechanicks*, because none else were allowed to
 " have the *Spirit*. Those only were accounted like
 " *St. Paul*, who could *work with their Hands*, and in
 " a Literal Sense *drive the Nail home*, and be able to
 " *make a Pulpit* before they *Preach'd* in it. In another Place branching out these *Gifts* into various Heads, and particularizing upon the *Gift of Divers Tongues*: " It is certain (says he) that they scarce
 " speak the same Things for two Days together.
 " Though otherwise it must be confessed that they
 " were none of the *greatest Linguists*, their own
 " *Mother Tongue* serving all their Occasions, with-

“ out ever so much as looking into the *Fathers*,
 “ who always spoke the *Language of the Beast*, to
 “ such as could not understand them. *Latin* was
 “ with them a mortal Crime, and *Greek* instead of
 “ being owned for the *Language of the Holy Ghost*
 “ (as in the New Testament it is) was look’d upon
 “ as the Sin against it, so that, in a word, they
 “ had all the *Confusions of Babel* amongst them, with-
 “ out the *Diversity of Tongues*.

In the Year 1693. The Pestilent Sect of the *Socinians* by the Countenance of the Act of *Toleration*, and the loose Sentiments of some of our own Divines, had gotten considerable Ground in *England* since the *Revolution*, and being favour’d by the Licentiousness of the Press, they publish’d many of their Pamphlets, enough to provoke any Christian Government. Hereupon, either to check their Insolence, or aggrandize himself in the Opinion of the World, Dr. *Sherlock*, then Dean of *St. Pauls*, by his *New Conversion*, undertook the *Vindication* of that *Orthodox Doctrine* concerning the *Trinity*. But because *Mysteries of Faith* being above *Reason*, are not to be explain’d by *Reason*, since they would thereby cease to be *Mysteries*; it fared with the Dr. that while he made it his Endeavour to prove *Three Distinct Persons*, he was very justly charged with proving *Three Distinct Gods*; having asserted that there were in the Godhead, *Three Minds*, *Three Beings*, and *Three Intelligences*; which gave the *Unitarians* Occasion to Triumph, and made it necessary that one well-skill’d Champion should arise for the Defence

Defence of the Truth deliver'd down to us by the Holy Gospel.

Hereupon Dr. South, one whom his very Antagonists allow'd to be a Person every way Qualified, engag'd the Bold *Tritheist*, and so handled him, that he had little else to have recourse to than superficial and trifling Evasions, and the Charge of *Tritheism* upon him was no suppos'd Crime, but a most real, and what is more, a premeditated Offence. But it must be confess'd, that it had been much more for the Honour of them Both, had they not been so severe upon the Characters of each other, and had enter'd less into *Searches* after those unfathomable *Depths*, which are Imperceptible, and by the *Divine Will* are likewise ever to remain so, and therefore ought by all Christians to be rever'd as *Mysteries* that surpass *Human Understanding*.

Dr. Sherlock entituled his Book, *A Vindication of the Holy and ever Blessed TRINITY*. And Dr. South publish'd his Reply (without his Name) under the following Title. *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, entituled, A Vindication of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, &c. Together with a more Necessary Vindication of that Sacred and Prime Article of the Christian Faith, from his New Notions, and False Explications of it; Humbly offer'd to his Admirers, and to Himself the Chief of them. By a Divine of the Church of England. The Preface to which he begins thus, viz.*

TO be impugned from without, and betray'd from within, is certainly the worst Condition that either *Church* or *State* can fall into ; and the best of Churches, the Church of *England*, has had Experience of both. It had been to be wish'd, and (one would think) might very reasonably have been expected, That when Providence had took the Work of destroying the Church of *England* out of the *Papists* Hands, some would have been Contented with her *Preferments*, without either attempting to give up her *Rights* and *Liturgy*, or Deserting her *Doctrine*. But it has proved much otherwise. And amongst those who are justly chargeable with the latter, I know none, who has faced the *World*, and defied the *Church* with so bold a Front, as the Author of Two very Heterodox Books, the first Entituled, *A Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, &c.* Publish'd in the Year 1674. And the other, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, &c.* And (as one would think) wrote purposely to let the *World* see, that the Truth cannot be so much shaken by a direct Opposition, as by a *Treacherous* and *False Defence*.

Really our Author has shewn himself very communicative to the *World* : For as in the Beginning of his Book he has vouchsafed to instruct us how to Judge of *Contradictions*, so in the Progresse of his Work he has condescended to Teach us (if we will but Learn) how to *speak and Write Contradictions* too. There remains therefore only one Fa-
 your

vour more, viz. That he would vouchsafe to Teach us how to Reconcile them also, page 26. Book I. Alluding to a Book written by Dr. Sherlock, in the Year 1685. called, An Answer to the Protestant Reconciler.

It is indeed an Amazing Thing to consider, That any one Man should presume to Brow-beat all the World at such a Rate; and we may well wonder at the Force of his Confidence and Self-Conceit, that it should be able to raise any one to such a Pitch. But *Naturalists* have observ'd, That *Blindness* in some *Animals*, is a very great Help and Instigation to *Boldness*. And amongst Men, as *Ignorance* is commonly said to be the *Mother of Devotion*, so in account for the Birth and Descent of *Confidence* too (whatsoever Cause some may derive it from) yet certainly, He who makes *Ignorance* the *Mother of this* also, reckons its Pedigree by the *sur-rer side*, Chap. 2. p. 67.

Our Author not being satisfied with the Account given of the *Mystery of the Blessed Trinity* by the *Schools*, nor with those Notions about it, which have hitherto obtain'd in the World till he came into it (no doubt as a Person peculiarly sent and Qualified to rectifie all those imperfect and improper Notions which had been formerly received by *Divines*) He I say with a Lofty Undertaking Mind, and a Reach beyond all *before*, and indeed *beside* him, and (as the Issue is like to prove) as much above him too, undertakes to give the World a much better, and more satisfactory Explication of this great *Mystery*, And that by Two new Terms or
Notions

Notions (purely and solely) of his own Invention, called *Self Consciousness*, and *Mutual Consciousness*; which though still joined together by our Author in his Explication of the Blessed *Trinity*, have yet very different Effects, *Chap. 3. In Princip.*

He Exposés a poor Senseless Infant *Hypothesis* to the wide World, and then very unmercifully leaves it to shift for it self, *In Eod. Cap. versus Finem.*

I dismiss his Two so much admired Terms (by himself I mean) as in no degree answering the Expectation he rais'd of them. For I cannot find, that they have either heightened or strengthened Mens Intellectual Faculties, or cast a greater Light and Clearness upon that Object which has so long Exercis'd them; but that a *Trinity in Unity* is as *Mysterious* as ever; and the Mind of Man as unable to grasp and comprehend it, as it hath been from the Beginning to this Day. In a word, *Self-Consciousness*, and *Mutual Consciousness*, have rendred nothing about the Divine *Nature*, and *Persons*, *Plainer*, *Easier*, and more *Intelligible*; nor indeed after such a mighty stress so irrationally laid upon Two slight empty Words, have they made any Thing (but the Author himself) better understood than it was before, *Cap. IV. Page 115.*

And indeed I cannot but here further declare, that to me it seems one of the most preposterous and unreasonable Things in Nature, for any one First to assert *Three Gods*, and when he has so well furnish'd the World with *Deities*, to expect that all Mankind should fall down and Worship them, *Cap. V. Page 143.*

Certainly

Certainly one would think, that the very Shame of the World, and that common Awe and Regard of Truth, which Nature has imprinted on the Minds of Men, should keep any one from offering to impose upon Men in so gross and shameless a manner, as to venture to call a Notion or Opinion, the *constant Doctrine both of the Fathers and Schools*; nay and to profess to make it out and shew it to be so; and while he is so doing, not to produce *one Father, or School Man*; I say again, not so much as *one of either*, in Behalf of that, which he so confidently and expressly avows to be the joint Sentiments of Both. This surely is a way of *proving*, or rather of *imposing* peculiar to himself. But we have seen how extremely fond he is of this New Term and Notion: And therefore since he will needs have the Reputation of being the sole *Father and Begetter* of the *Hopeful Issue*, there is no Reason in the world that *Antiquity* should find other *Fathers* to maintain it, *Cap. VI. P. 168.*

The Book called by him a *Vindication of the Trinity*, is certainly like a kind of Pot or Vessel with Handles quite round it; turn it which way you will, you are sure to find something to take hold of it by, *P. 358.*

I cannot see any New Advantage he has got over the *Socinians*, unless it be that he thinks his *Three Gods* will be too hard for their *One*. And perhaps it is upon Presumption of this, that he discharges that Clap of Thunder at them in his *PREFACE*; where he tells us, *That having dipped his Pen in the Vindication of so glorious a Cause, by the Grace of God*
he

he will never desert it, while he can hold Pen in Hand In which words methinks I see him ready Armed and Mounted (with his Face towards the *West*) and Brandishing his Sword aloft, all wreaking with *Socinian* Blood, and with the very Darts of his Eyes looking his *poor forgotten Friends* through and through. For, in good Earnest the Words sound very terribly to these Men; but most terribly of all to the Article it self (which is like to suffer most by his *Vindication*) for thus to threaten that he will never leave off vexing it *as long as he can hold Pen in Hand* (which I dare say will be as long as he can tell Money with it). This, I say again sounds very dreadfully. P. 359.

In 1695, Dr. *Sherlock* Publish'd a *Defence* of Himself against the *Animadverter*, to which Dr. *South* reply'd (*Incog.* as before) in a *Treatise* entituled, *TRITHEISM Charg'd upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the TRINITY*. And the Charge made good, in Answer to the *Defence of the said Notion* against the *Animadversions, &c.* This Piece he thus Address'd *To All Professors of Divinity in the Two Universities of this Kingdom*. Our Churches Enemies of late (*says he*) seem to have diverted their main Attacks from her Out-works in Matters of *Discipline* and *Ceremony*; and now, it is no less than her very *Capitol* which they Invade; her *Palladium* (if I may allude to such Expressions) which they would rob her of; even the Prime, the Grand, and distinguishing Article of our Christianity, the Article of the Blessed *TRINITY* it self; without the Belief of which, I dare

dare aver, that a Man can no more be a *Christian*, than he can, without a Rational Soul, be a *Man*. And this is now the Point so fiercely laid at, and Assaulted both by *Socinianism* on the one Hand, and by *Tritheism* or rather *Paganism* on the other. For, as the former would run it down by stripping the Godhead of a *Ternary* of *Persons*, so the other would as *effectually* but more scandalously overthrow it, by introducing a *Trinity* of *Gods*; as they inevitably do, who assert the *Three Divine Persons* to be *Three distinct Infinite Minds*, or *Spirits*, which I positively affirm, is equivalent to the Asserting the said *Three Persons* to be *Three Gods*. And I doubt not of your Learned Concurrence *with me*, and Abetment *of me* in this Affirmation.

If it must be the *Lot* of the Church of *England* to sit down, and see her most *Holy Religion* practised upon by such wretched *Innovations*, as can tend only to ridicule and expose the chief Articles of it to the Scorn of *Arrians* and *Socinians*, and all this, under Pretence of *Explaining them*; I can but say, God deliver our poor Church from such *Explainers*, and our *Creed* from such *Explications*. And, as I heartily commiserate the *Unhappy State* of that, so I really pity this *bold Man* himself, that he should be thus suffered to go on venting his *Scandalous Heterodoxies*, without finding either Friends to Counsel, or Superiors to control him, P. 71.

That the Holy Ghost is called *πνεῦμα, εὐαγγ.* not by *Emanation*, but by *Procession*, is just as if one should say of *Peter*. That he is not a *Living Creature*, but

a *Man*. From all which it follows, That this Author is grossly ignorant of the true Philosophical Sense of the Term *Emanation*; sometimes applying it to one Thing, and sometimes denying it of another; but *Both* at a venture, and just as People use to do at *Blind-Man's Buff*, P. 76.

The Soul of *Socrates* vitally join'd with a *Female Body*, would certainly make a *Woman*; and yet according to this Author's Principle (affirming that it is the *Soul*, and the *Soul* only, which makes the *Person*) *Socrates* with such a Change of *Body* would continue the same *Person*, and consequently the same *Socrates* still. And in like manner for *Xantippe*; the Conjunction of her *Soul* with another Sex, would certainly make the whole Compound a *Man*; and yet nevertheless *Xantippe* would continue the same *Person*, and the same *Xantippe* still; save only, I confess, that upon such an Exchange of Bodies with her Husband *Socrates*, she would have more Right to wear the *Breeches*, than she had before, P. 129.

If he proves that Three absolute entire *Beings* can be Three *Relative Subsistences* or *Modifications* of one and the same Infinite *Mind* or *Being*, then I will grant that he has defended his Assertion against the *Animadverter*; and not only so, but that he has full Power also (by a *Theological Use* of his own making) to alter the Sense and Signification of all words, in spite of the World, and by vertue of the same (if he pleases) may call the *Deanery* of *St. Paul's* the *Archbishoprick* of *Canterbury*, and behave himself accordingly, P. 243, 244.

He

He excepts against *Bellarmino's* Orthodoxy (because forsooth he was a *Papist*) like that profound Dotard who reproved a Young Student for reading *Clavius* upon *Euclid*, telling him that he ought to read none but *Protestant Mathematicks*; surely the *Romish* Writers are as Orthodox about the Article of the *Trinity*, as any *Protestant* Writers whatsoever? P. 256.

When I look back upon that shrewd Remark of his, with which he begins the said Answer, viz. *That Logick is a very troublesome Thing when Men want Sense*, p. 93. l. 7. I must confess that he here speaks like a Man who understands himself, and that having so often shewn, how troublesome a Thing *Logick* is to him, by his being so angry with it, he now gives a very Satisfactory Reason why it is so; and therefore in Requital of it, I cannot but tell him, That if *Logick* without *Sense* be so troublesome, *Confidence* without either *Logick*, or *Sense*, or *Truth*, or *Shame*, or so much as *Conscience* of what one says or denies, is intolerable. P. 274.

And so I take my Leave of the DEAN'S *Three distinct, Infinite Minds, Spirits, or Substances*, That is to say, of his *Three Gods*; and having done this, methinks I see him go whimpering away with his Finger in his Eye, and that Complaint of *Micah* in his Mouth, *Judg. xviii. 24. Ye have taken away my Gods which I made, and what have I more.* Though I must confess I cannot tell, why he should be so fond of them, since I dare undertake, that he will never be able to bring the Christian World either to believe in, or to worship a *Trinity of Gods*. Nor do

do I see what Use they are likely to be of, even to himself, unless peradventure to swear By. P. 281.

The Result of this Paper War gave the Victory to Dr. South, and decided after a most extraordinary manner in his Favour: For Mr. Bingham Fellow of University College in Oxford, having some time after taken upon him to fall in with Dr. Sherlock's Notions, and asserted in a Sermon before the University; "That there were *Three* infinite "distinct *Minds* and *Substances* in the *Trinity*; and "also that the *Three* Persons in the *Trinity* are "Three distinct *Minds* or *Spirits*, and *Three* Individual *Substances*: was Censured by a Solemn Decree there in Convocation; wherein, they Judge, Declare, and Determine, the *aforsaid Words* lately deliver'd in the said Sermon, to be FALSE, IMPIOUS, and HERETICAL, disagreeing with, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England, Publickly received.

But this Decree rather irritated the Parties than composed the Differences; whereupon the KING interposed his Royal Authority, by Directions to the Archbishops, and Bishops, that no Preacher whatsoever in his Sermon or Lecture, should presume to deliver any other Doctrine concerning the Blessed *Trinity*, than what was contained in the Holy Scriptures, and was agreeable to the *Three Creeds*, and the 39 *Articles of Religion*, which put an End to the Controversie, tho' not till after both the Disputants, (with Dr. Burnet Master of the Charter-House, who about the same Time Published

lished his *Archæologia*, whereby he impugned and weaken'd as much as in him lay the Divine Truths of the Old Testament) had receiv'd a Reprimand from a Witty Ballad, called, *The Battle Royal*; to the *Tune of a Soldier and a Sailor*.

A DEAN and PREBENDARY
Had once a new Vagary
And were at doubtful strife, Sir,
Who led the better Life, Sir,
And was the better Man,
And was the better Man.

The DEAN he said that truly,
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his Face, Sir,
That he had the most Grace, Sir,
And so the Fight began, &c.

When PREB reply'd like Thunder,
And roar'd out 'twas no Wonder,
Since Gods the DEAN had Three, Sir,
And more by Two than he, Sir,
For he had got but One, &c.

Now whilst these Two were raging,
And in Disputes engaging,
The MASTER of the CHARTER,
Said both had caught a Tartar,
For GODS, Sir, there were none, &c

That all the Books of Moses,
Were nothing but Supposes,

Memoirs of the LIFE of

*That he deserv'd Rebuke, Sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a Sham, &c.*

*That as for Father ADAM,
With Mrs. EVE his Madam,
And what the Serpent spoke, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a Joke, Sir,
And well-invented Flam, &c.*

*Thus in this Battle-Royal,
As none would take Denial,
The Dame for which they strove, Sir,
Could neither of them Love, Sir,
Since all had giv'n Offence, &c.*

*She therefore slyly waiting,
Left all Three Fools a Prating,
And being in a Fright, Sir,
Religion took her Flight, Sir,
And ne'er was heard of since,
And ne'er was heard of since.*

Whether this *Ballad* is worded with that Decency that the Subject of the Dispute, or the very Eminent and Learned Persons concern'd in it, required, it is not in my Sphere to decide; but the Reception it met with in being Translated into several Languages, particularly *Latin*, by a Curious Hand, at the University of *Cambridge*, and the Presents made to the Author by the Nobility and Gentry, made it evident, that their Sentiments were

were against having the *Mysteries* of our Holy Religion discuss'd and canvas'd after so ludicrous a manner. Not but that Dr. South's Zeal for the Cause of God, and the Defence of the blessed *Trinity*, may atone for those loose and unguarded expressions that fell from his Pen, and it is of great use to his Justification to say that it had been a Crime in him to have been Lukewarm and Indolent, when the Presumption of Man should dare to push him forward upon Explanations of those Sacred *Arcana* (which God who alone is Omniscient had reserv'd to himself) contrary to the Dictates of the Holy Spirit, and the receiv'd Opinion of the *Councils* and *Fathers*.

Nor can I account for the manifest Partiality of some Great Men in Favour of Dr. *Sherlock*, especially of Dr. *Stillington* then Bishop of *Worcester*, a Person every way Qualified for the High Dignity he was invested with, and of a most excelling Judgment in all Points of Human and Divine Literature; who tho' in his Preface to his *Vindication of the Trinity*, quotes this Sentence against the manner of the Treatment the Two Antagonists gave each other, (*viz.*) *Oderit Rixas & Furgia praesertimque inter Eruditos, ac Turpe esse dicebat viros indubitate doctos canina rabie famam vicissim suam rodere ac lacerare scriptis trucibus, tanquam vilissimos de Plebe Cerdones in Angiportis sese Luto ac stercore conspurcantes.* Nic. Rigalt. Vit. P. Puteani. p. 48. i. e. 'He ever
'hated Broils and opprobrious Language, especially
'among the Learned, and said it was a very odious
'and unseemly thing, for Men who were undoubt-

‘ edly Renowned for Knowledge and Understand-
 ‘ ing, to insult and tear to pieces each others Re-
 ‘ putations in their inhumane Writings, with a
 ‘ Canine Fury, not unfitly compared to Cobblers
 ‘ sprung from the vilest Dregs of the People; be-
 ‘ spattering each other in Lanes and narrow Passages
 ‘ with Dirt and Dung; This inclines very much to
 the Part of that Author (*viz.* Dr. *Sherlock*) who in
 Dr. *South*’s words was not only the *Agressor*, but the
Transgressor too, as may be seen from a View of
 that Book it self, who howsoever Learned, and
 seemingly intended against the *Socinians*, will ap-
 pear to be a meer *Brutum Fulmen* in that Respect,
 and to fall heaviest upon their very Enemies.

This Dr. *South* was very accurately appriz’d of,
 and notwithstanding his great Deference for his
 Lordship’s unquestionable Skill in Polemical and
 Casuistical Divinity, joyn’d to his Obedience to the
 Royal *Mandate*, and the *Episcopal* Order, held his
 Hands from entering the Lists with him in a Con-
 troversial way, he could not but have a fling at
 them both, in a † *Dedication* to NARCISSUS BOYLE,
 Archbishop of *Dublin*, where amongst other Remark-
 able Passages, are to be found what follow. ‘ Sure-
 ‘ ly, says he, it would be a very odd way of rid-
 ‘ ding a Man of the *Plague*, by running him thro’ with
 ‘ a Sword; or of *Curing* him of a *Lethargy*, by cast-
 ‘ ing him into a *Calenture*. A Disease of a contrary
 ‘ Nature indeed, but no less fatal to the Patient,
 ‘ who equally dies, whether his *Sickness*, or his *Phy-*
 ‘ sick, the Malignity of his *Distemper*, or the Me-

† To the 3d Vol. of his Sermons, Printed Anno 1698.

‘thod of his Cure dispatches him. And in like
 ‘manner must it fare with a CHURCH, which
 ‘feeling it self struck with the *Poison of Socinianism*,
 ‘flies to *Tritheism* for an *Antidote*.

‘But at length steps in the *Royal Authority* to the
 ‘CHURCH’s Relief, with several wholsom *In-*
 ‘*junctions* in its Hands, for the Composing, Heal-
 ‘ing, and Ending the Disputes about the TRINITY
 ‘then on Foot, and these indeed so wisely framed,
 ‘so seasonably timed, and (by the KING at least)
 ‘so graciously intended, that they must in all likely-
 ‘hood (without any other IRENICON) have re-
 ‘stored Peace to the CHURCH, had it not been
 ‘for the *Importunity* and *Impartiality* of some, who
 ‘having by the Awe of these *Injunctions*, endea-
 ‘vour’d to Silence the opposite Party (which by
 ‘their *Arguments* they could not do) and, withal,
 ‘looking upon themselves as *Privileged Persons*, and
 ‘so above these *Ordinances*, which others were to be
 ‘subject to, resolved not to be silent themselves;
 ‘but renewing the Contest, partly by throwing
 ‘*Muggleton* and *Rigaltius*, with some other foul stuff
 ‘in their Adversaries Faces; and partly by a shame-
 ‘less *Reprinting* (without the least *Reinforcing*) the
 ‘same *Tritheistick Notions*, again, and again, they
 ‘quite broke through the *Royal Prohibitions*, and
 ‘soon after began to take as great a *Liberty* in vent-
 ‘ing their *Innovations* and *Invectives*, as ever they
 ‘had done before; so that he who shall impartially
 ‘consider the Course taken by these Men, with
 ‘Reference to those engaged on the other side
 ‘of this Controversie about the TRINITY,

‘ will find that their whole Proceeding in it, resembles nothing so much as a *Thief’s* binding the *Hands* of an Honest Man with a *Cord*, much fitter for *his own Neck*.

‘ But, blessed be God, Matters stand not so with you in *Ireland*, the Climate there, being not more impatient of *Poisonous Animals*, than the CHURCH of *Poisonous Opinions*, an Universal concurrent Orthodoxy shining all over it, from the *Superior Clergy* who *preside*, to the *Inferior* placed *under them*; so that we never hear from thence of any *Presbyter*, much less of any *Dean*, who dares Innovate upon the *Faith received*; and least of all (should such a Wretch chance to start up among you) can I hear of any *Bishop* likely to debauch his Style and Character, so low as either to *Defend* the *Man*, or *Colour* over his *Opinions*. Nor lastly, do we find that in the Judgment of the Clergy there, *a Man’s having* wrote against one sort of *Herésie*, or *Heterodoxy*, ought to Justifie or Excuse him in *Writing for another*, and much less for it, *worse*.

His Character likewise of *High* and *Low Churchmen*, in the same Dedication, highly deserve a place in these MEMOIRS; not only because they speak the Sense and Opinion of the Author, but impress upon the Minds of disinterested and impartial Readers, the same Ideas which his was filled with. ‘ Those of the Ancient Members of her (*viz. The Church of England’s*) Communion, who have all along own’d and contended for a strict Conformity to her Rules and Sanctions, as the
‘ surest

' surest Course to Establish her, have been of late
 ' Represented, or rather *Reprobated* under the ino-
 ' diating Charge of *High-Churchmen*, and thereby
 ' stand mark'd out for all the Discouragement that
 ' *Spight* and *Power* together can pass upon them ;
 ' while those of the contrary Way, and Principle,
 ' are *distinguished*, or rather *sanctified* by the fashion-
 ' able endearing Name of *Low-Churchmen* ; not from
 ' affecting (we may be sure) a *lower Condition* in the
 ' Church than others, since none lie *so low*, but they
 ' can *look as high* ; but from the lower Condition,
 ' which the Authors of this Distinction would fain
 ' bring the Church itself into ; a Work in which
 ' they have made no small Progress already : And
 ' thus by their ungenerous, as well as unconscion-
 ' able Practices, a fatal *Rent* and *Division* is made
 ' amongst us. And being so, I think *those of the*
 ' *Concision* who made it, would do well to consider
 ' whether that which our Saviour assures us, will
 ' *destroy a Kingdom*, be the likeliest way to *settle*
 ' and *support a Church*. But I question not, but these
 ' *Dividers* will very shortly receive *Thanks* from the
 ' Papists for the good Services they have done them,
 ' and in the mean time they may be sure of their
 ' *Scoffs*.

Much about this Time, the Doctor's unwearied
 Application to his Studies, brought upon him the
 Bloody Flux, which was followed by the Strangury,
 that scarce left him but for some Transitory Relea-
 ses from it, to his last Moments ; yet notwithstand-
 ing the uneasiness this must needs give him, he still
 kept up his Sprightliness and Vivacity of Temper,

with the few Friends he convers'd with, which were always well chosen ; and so far was he from deserving the Character of a morose and reserv'd Person by a certain Author, who said that the sourness of his Disposition, which made him unfit for Conversation, made him a Scholar ; that whoever was once in his Company, went off with such a Relish of his Wit and good Humour, as to covet the coming into it, tho' at the Expence of bearing a part in the Subject of his Raillery. So that what was said of HORACE, might on as just Grounds be work'd into his Character.

-----*Ridentem Flaccus Amicum
Tangit, & admissus circum praeordia ludit.*

During the greatest part of the Reign of Queen ANNE, he was in a State of Inactivity, and the Infirmities of Old Age growing fast upon him, he performed very little of the Duties of the Ministerial Function, otherwise than when his Health would allow of his going to the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, to be present at Divine Service ; tho' he would take a Journey sometimes to his Seat near *Reading*, having always Two Chairmen attending his Coach to take him out, when he was uneasy through the means of his Indisposition before-mention'd, and carry him in the Chair ; for which Service, he was so Bountiful, as constantly to allow them Ten Pounds for the Journey.

Notwithstanding his Ill State of Health, he continued his wonted Recourse to Books, and the Improvement

provement of his Mind (which had a sufficient Magazine of Learning before) almost to the Day of his Death; and it was with great Difficulty that his Surgeon, who had the Cure of a Sore Leg two or three Years since, under-hand prevail'd on him, not to creep into his Study too often; which yet he could not refrain.

Yet notwithstanding all these Impediments to Activity and Motion, none shew'd a greater Concern for the Church, when he judg'd it to be in *Danger*; he was unwearied in his Application to many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to be Mild and Gentle in their Sentence against Dr. *Sacheverell*, whose *Trial* came on in 1710, and who is highly indebted to him for a very successful Advocate.

Upon the Change of the Ministry, when Mr. *Bromley*, an Illustrious and truly Honest Patriot, came to preside at Helm, in the Post of one of her late Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Dr. was again Solicited and Courted to accept of Higher Dignities of the Church, and to become one of the *Fathers* of it, that had been so very dutiful a Son; more especially when the See of *Rochester*, and Deanery of *Westminster* was vacant by the Death of the Learned and Pious Dr. *Sprat*; but he return'd for Answer, *That such a Chair would be too uneasie for an Old Infirm Man to sit in, and he held himself much better satisfied with Living upon the Eves-droppings of the Church, than to fare sumptuously, by being placed at the Pinnacle of it.* Alluding to his House that was adjoyning to the *Abbey*;

bey; so that very Worthy and Hearty Lover and Assertor of the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, then Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, was pitch'd upon by Her late most Sacred Majesty, to fill those Two Stalls, as Bishop, and Dean. In the Month of *June*, 1713, which gave occasion to the Dr. though he had a great Esteem for the new Dean's Parts, and Person, when a Gentleman ask'd him concerning the State of his Health, to say, *Within an inch of the Grave no doubt, since I have liv'd to see a Gentleman who was Born the very Year in which I was made one of the Prebendaries of this Church, appointed to be the Dean of it.* This gave Occasion to several Persons, who were not acquainted with the Doctor's way of Talk, to suggest that Dr. *South* took the Gift of Preferments away from those views in Disgust; but the Truth is on the Contrary side; for the Dr. receiv'd Visits from the Bishop to his dying Day; and made it amongst other Requests, that at his Burial my Lord of *Rochester* might perform the last Office.

On the Death of Queen *ANNE*, of Immortal and ever blessed Memory, the Doctor told a Friend of his that was wont to Visit him once or twice a Week, *That it was Time for him to prepare for his Journey to a blessed Immortality; since all that was Good, and Gracious, and the very Breath of his Nostrils had made its Departure to the Regions of Bliss, and Eternal Happiness.*

Accordingly, he began thenceforward to set his House in order, and to provide for the further
Good

Good of *Posterity*, as will be seen by his Generous Benefactions.

In the Year 1715, He Publish'd a Fourth Volume of Excellent Sermons, which he Inscrib'd to Mr. *Bromley* in the following Remarkable manner.

“ To the Right Honourable WILLIAM BROMLEY
“ Esq; some time *Speaker* of the Honourable *House*
“ of *Commons*; And after that, Principal *Secretary*
“ of *State* to Her Majesty Queen ANNE, of
“ ever blessed Memory. In both Stations Great
“ and Eminent. But in nothing Greater than *in*,
“ and *from* Himself. ROBERT SOUTH, His most
“ Devoted Servant, Humbly Offers, and Presents
“ this Fourth Volume of his SERMONS. As the
“ Last and Best Testimony he can give of the
“ High Esteem and Sincere Affection which He,
“ the Author of them bears, and ever must, and
“ shall bear to that Excellent Person.

The next Thing he had to do, was to shew his Zeal and Gratitude for and to the Family of the late Duke of *Ormond*, (who had unhappily forfeited his Title by a Bill of *Atainder* in Parliament;) in causing himself to be brought in a Chair to the Election of a New High-Steward, vacant upon the Forfeiture of his said late Grace. The Candidates were the Duke of *Newcastle*, and the Earl of *Arran*, the late Duke's only Brother, who had lost his Election, had not Dr. *South* (who was in a manner Bed-ridden) made the Voices of the Prebendaries equal, by saying very briskly when he was ask'd whom he would Vote for,

Heart

Heart, and Hand, for my Lord ARRAN.

So that the Dean who had the Casting Vote, determin'd the Choice in his Lordship's Favour.

This being the last Time he went Abroad, 'tis easie to imagine, that Weakness, the Attendant upon Old Age, made very quick Advances towards his Dissolution, which happen'd on *Sunday* the 8th Day of *July*, 1716.

Four Days after his Decease, the Corps having for some Time lain in a decent manner in the *Jerusalem* Chamber, was brought into the *College-Hall*, where a Latin Oration was spoken by Mr. *John Barber*, Captain of the King's Scholars. Thence it was attended by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, with the Prebendaries who were in Town, the Masters, the Scholars, the whole Choir, and all the Servants belonging to that Royal Foundation, with many Worthy Members of the University, and College of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*. Upon their Entry into the Abbey, the Choir perform'd the part of the Funeral Service, till the Body was plac'd in the Area of the Church, after which followed Evening Prayers, and an Anthem ſuitable to the Occaſion, the ſame which was Sung at the Interment of Her MAJESTY, Compoſed by Dr. *William Croft*. Prayers being ended, the Corps was attended in the ſame manner to the Grave, near the Steps of the Altar adjoining to the late Dr. *Busby's*. Where the Choir perform'd the laſt
part

part of the Service; the Right Reverend the Dean Reading the *Burial Office* with such Affection and Devotion, as shew'd his Concern for the Inestimable Loss that Church had sustain'd by the Death of so valuable a Person.

Having brought the Remains of this Great and Good Man with Peace to the Grave, we shall conclude these *Memoirs* with giving his CHARACTER, as drawn up by an Eminent Hand: † *This Learned Gentleman* (says he speaking of Dr. South) *had a Talent of making all his Faculties bear to the great End of his hallow'd Profession. His Charming Discourses have in them whatever Wit and Wisdom can put together. Happy Genius! He was the better Man for being a Wit.* His Judgment (*says another*) was Penetrating, and his Knowledge Extensive; He did Honour to his Age and Country, I could almost say to Humane Nature it self. He possess'd at once all those extraordinary Talents that were divided amongst the greatest Authors of Antiquity; he had the sound, distinct, comprehensive Knowledge of *Aristotle*, with all the beautiful Lights, Graces, and Embellishments of *Cicero*. One does not know which to admire most in his Writings, the strength of Reason, force of Style, or brightness of Imagination. As to the latter part of his Character, his *Actions*. He was not only a *Son*, but a *Father* to the Church of *England*; Sincere and Hearty to her Friends, and ever bold and undaunted in the Defence of *Truth* and *Loyalty*; wherein his Arguments

† *Tatler*, Numb. 205.

were so Solid and Nervous, that as few have come near him, so none have excell'd him. Infomuch that while he was possess'd of *Tertullian's* Oratory, and Force of Perswasion, he was Invested and Cloath'd with *St. Cyprian's* Devotion and Humility. He was a True Friend to MONARCHY; even when *Rebellion* was Successful, and *Faction* Meritorious. His Charity to the Poor was very Liberal, and the greatest part of it Industriously conceal'd; having our Saviour's Prohibition, *of letting not his Light shine before Men* always in Remembrance, whereby we may be assured that he found greater Satisfaction in the *Duty*, than he could propose from the *Title* of a Generous Benefactor. To describe him fully, ought only to be attempted by a Person that is blessed with such a share of Wit and Devotion as he enjoy'd. A Writer * above-mention'd, says, *That the best way to Praise him, is to Quote him.* In all his Writings, will be found, the *Divine*, the *Orator*, the *Casuiſt*, and the *Christian*; the latter shines no where more conspicuous, than in that excellent Description which he has given us in one of his *Sermons*; wherein having shewn the Virtue of a *Good Conscience* in supporting a Man under the greatest Tryals and Difficulties of Life, he concludes, with representing its Force and Efficacy in the Hour of Death.

"The last Instance, (says he) in which above all others
 "this Confidence towards God does most eminently shew

* Tatler. Ibid.

“ and exert it self, is at the *Time of Death*. Which
“ surely gives the grand Opportunity of trying
“ both the *Strength* and *Worth* of every Principle.
“ When a Man shall be just about to quit the Stage
“ of this World to put off his Mortality, and to
“ deliver up his last Accompts to God, at which
“ sad time his Memory shall serve him for little
“ else, but to terrifie him with a frightful Review
“ of his past Life, and his former Extravagancies
“ strip'd of all their *Pleasure*, but retaining their *Guilt*.
“ What is it then that can promise him a fair *Passage*
“ into the other World, or a comfortable Appearance
“ before his dreadful Judge when he is there?
“ Not all the *Friends* and *Interests*, all the *Riches*
“ and *Honours* under Heaven, can speak so much as
“ a Word *for him*, or one Word of Comfort *to*
“ *him* in that Condition; they may possibly Re-
“ proach, but they cannot Relieve him.

“ No; at this disconsolate time when the busie
“ Tempter shall be more than usually apt to vex
“ and trouble him, and the Pains of a dying Body
“ to hinder and discompose him, and the Settle-
“ ment of Worldly Affairs to disturb and con-
“ found him; and in a word, all things conspire
“ to make his Sick Bed grievous and uneasy: No-
“ thing can then stand up against all these Ruins,
“ and speak *Life* in the midst of *Death*, but a clear
“ *Conscience*.

“ And the Testimony of that, shall make the
“ Comforts of Heaven descend upon his weary
“ Head

“ Head, like a refreshing Dew, or Shower upon a
 “ parched Ground. It shall give him some lively
 “ Earnests, and secret Anticipations of his ap-
 “ proaching Joy. It shall bid his Soul go out of
 “ the Body undauntedly, and lift up its Head with
 “ Confidence before Saints and Angels. Surely
 “ the Comfort which it conveys at this Season, is
 “ something bigger than the Capacities of Morta-
 “ lity, mighty and unspeakable, and not to be un-
 “ derstood till it comes to be felt.

“ And now, who would not quit all the *Pleasures*,
 “ and *Trash* and *Trifles*, which are apt to captivate
 “ the Heart of Man, and pursue the greatest Ri-
 “ gors of Piety, and Austerities of a good Life, to
 “ purchase to himself such a Conscience, as at the
 “ Hour of Death, when all the Friendship in the
 “ World shall bid him *Adieu*, and the whole Crea-
 “ tion turn its Back upon him, shall dismiss the
 “ Soul, and close his Eyes with that blessed Sen-
 “ tence, *Well done thou good and faithful SERVANT,*
 “ enter Thou into the JOY of thy LORD?

FINIS.



THREE
SERMONS

Several Subjects,

ROBERT SOUTH, *D. D.*

k

21/11/12

A

S E R M O N

Preach'd at COURT, on the
xxxth of *January*.

JUDGES xix. 30.

*And it was so, that all that saw it said,
There was no such thing done or seen from
the Day that the Children of Israel came
up from the Land of Egypt, unto this Day;
consider of it, take Advice and speak your
Minds.*



HERE is a certain fatal Per-
tinency in the very Phrase of the
Text; for when there were Judg-
es, there was no King in *Israel*,
tho' as to the present purpose, they were
Judges of another Nature that removed ours.
We have an Account of this prodigious and
horrid Action, cloathed with all the Circum-
stances of Wonder and Detestation, but yet
well timed for its Commission, it being done

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when upon the want of the Regal Power, *Judg. xxi. 25. Every Man did what was right in his own Eyes;* or, in another Dialect, *as the Spirit moved him.* And as for the Authors of this execrable Fact, we have them defending themselves with their Swords, and for some time asserting their Villany with their Success and Victory against their Brethren, twice beaten and massacred before them in a Righteous Cause, as you may see in the next Chapter.

I do not profess my self either delighted or skill'd in Mystical Interpretations, and to wire-draw the sense of the Place, so as to make it speak the Death of the King; as some who can interpret Scripture, as if the whole Book of God was only to tell things transacted in *England and Scotland*; so that there cannot be so much as an House fired, or a Leg broken, but they can find it in *Daniel* or the *Revelations*. No, I pretend to no such Skill; it is enough for me if I bring the present Business and the Text together, not by Design, but Accommodation: And as the Phrase runs full and high, so I doubt not but to find such a parallel in the things themselves, that it may be a question whether of the two may have a better claim to the Expression.

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pression. The Cause here which was worded with so high Aggravations, was an Injury done to one single *Levite*, in the villainous Rape of his Concubine; the Resentment of which was so great, that it engaged the rest of the Tribes to revenge his Quarrel with a Civil War, in which the Pre-eminence and Conduct was given by God's Appointment to the Royal Tribe of *Judah*. The Scepter being most concern'd to assert the Privileges and revenge the Injuries of the Crozier. We have the *Benjamites* sturdily abetting what they had impiously done, and for a while victorious in Villany, by the help of God's Providence, trampling on those that Fought by the Warrant of his Precept.

Let us now see the Counter-part: He that dates the King's Murder from the fatal Blow given on the Scaffold, judges like him that thinks 'tis the last stroke that fells the Tree; the killing of his Person was only the Consummation of his Murder, first begun in his Prerogative. We have heard the knack of a double Capacity, Personal and Politick, and I suppose they distinguish the King into two, that each Party might Murder him under one. And for those whose

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Loyalty does only consist in designing that Action which was taken out of their Hands, and having laid the Premises, they protest against the Conclusion; they cover their Prevarication with a Fig-leaf, and only differ from the other Party in this, that These endeavour to disguise the Author of the Fact, Those only the Executioner. Well then; when a long Sun-shine of Mercy had ripen'd the Sins of the Nation, so that it was now ready for the shatterings of Divine Vengeance; the Seed of Faction and Rebellion having been for a long time studiously sown by Schismatical Doctrines, and well watered by seditious Lectures, the first Assault was made against the Tribe of *Levi*, by some implacable Enemies of the Church, the fury of whose Lust and Ambition nothing could allay, till they had full scope to prostitute her Honour, and ravish her Revenues; till at length, cut, divided, torn in pieces as she was, she lay a ghastly Spectacle to all beholders, to all the *Israel* of God.

And as this was done to our English *Levites*, so it was acted by *Benjamites*, by so many *Benjamites*, as raven like Wolves, till by their Rapin and Sacrilege, they had their Mefs
five

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five times bigger than their Brethrens. The prosecution of which Quarrel was armed by the Royal Standard, and the Defence of the Church manag'd by the Defender of the Faith; in which it pleased the All-Wise God, to cause *Judah* to fall before *Benjamin*, the Lyon to be a Prey to the Wolf; by which fatal Trace of Providence, the King being kill'd long before Forty Five; by natural and immediate Sequel to compleat the Action, *Charles* was murder'd in Forty Eight. And this is the black Subject of this Day's Solemnity. In my Reflections upon which, if Detestation (that is, a due apprehension of the blackest Fact that ever the Sun saw, since he withdrew upon the Suffering of our Saviour) chance to give an edge to some of my Expressions, let those know (the nature of whose Actions has made Truth look like a Sarcastm, and Descriptions sharper than Invectives) I say, let these Censurers know (whose Innocency lies only in the Act of Indemnity) that to drop the blackest Ink, and the bitterest Gall upon this Fact, is not Satire, but Propriety.

Now since the Text says, *There was no such thing ever done or seen*, the proper prosecution of the Words, all applied to this

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Occasion, must be to shew wherein the strangeness of this Deed consists ; and since the nature of every particular Action is to be learnt by reflecting upon the Agent and the Object, with all the retinue of Circumstances that attend it, under a certain determination, I shall accordingly distribute my following Discourse into these Materials : I shall

1. Consider the Person who suffer'd.
2. Shew the Preparation or Introduction to his Suffering.
3. Shew you the Qualities of the Agents who acted in it.
4. Describe the Circumstances and Manner of the Fact.

Lastly, Point out the Destruction, and grim Consequences of it.

Of all which in their Order.

1. He that suffer'd was a King, and what is more, such a King as was not chosen, but born to it ; owing his Kingdom, not to the Voice of Popularity, but the Suffrage of Nature ; he was a *David*, a Saint, a King, but never a Shepherd : All the Royal Blood in *Christendom* ran in his Veins, *i. e.* many Kings went to the making up of him, and his Improvement and Education fell in ways
not

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not below his Extraction. He was accurate in all the commending Excellencies of Human Accomplishments, able to deserve, had he not Inherited a Kingdom: Of so controuling a Genius, that in every Science he did not so much study as Reign, he appear'd not only a Proficient, but a Prince; and, to go no farther for a Testimony, let his own Writings serve for a Witness, which speak him no less an Author than a Monarch, compos'd with such an unfailing Accuracy, such a commanding Majestick *pathos*, as if they had been written not with a Pen, but a Scepter; and as for those whose virulent and ridiculous Calumnies ascribe that Incomparable Work to others, 'tis a sufficient Argument that those did not, because they could not write it. 'Tis hard to counterfeit the Spirit of Majesty, and the Inimitable Peculiarities of an Incommunicable Genius. At the Council Table he had Ability enough to give himself the best Counsel, but the unhappy Modesty to diffide in it, indeed his only Fault; for Modesty is a Paradox in Majesty, and Humility is a Solecism in Supremacy.

Look we next on his Piety and Incomparable Virtues, tho' without any absurdity I may say, that his very Endowments of Nature

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ture were supernatural; so Pious was he, that if Others had measur'd their Obedience to him, by his to God, he had been the most Absolute Monarch in the World. As eminent for frequenting the Temple, as *Solomon* for building one: No Occasions ever interfer'd with his Devotion, nor Business out-dated his time of Attendance in the Church. [And here I should not pay a due Tribute to his Memory, did I forget that remarkable Instance of constancy of Soul (not to be shocked by the severest strokes of ill Fortune) with which he receiv'd the surprizing News of the sudden loss of a dear Friend, and faithful Servant, sacrificed by a vile Assassine to the unjustifiable and groundless Clamours of an ill informed People, as well as to private spleen. How gallantly in this Affair did he suppress Human Nature, and restrain that flood of Tears due to the Memory of his Friend, till he had finished his Duty towards God.] So firm was he in the Protestant Cause, tho' he lay in the midst of Temptation, in the very Bosom of *Spain*, and tho' *France* lay in his, yet nothing could alter him, but he espoused the Cause of his Religion more than his beloved Queen. He ever filled the

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Title under which we prayed for him. He could defend Religion as a King, dispute for it as a Divine, and die for it as a Martyr. I think I shall speak a great Truth in saying, That the only thing that makes Protestantism considerable in *Christendom*, is the Church of *England*, and the only thing that does now cement and confirm the Church of *England*, is the Blood of that Blessed Martyr. He was so well skilled in all Controversies, that we may well stile him in all Causes Ecclesiastical, not only Supreme Governor, but Moderator, nor more fit to fill the Throne than the Chair; and withal, so Exact an Observer and Royal Rewarder of all such Performances, that it was an Encouragement for a Man to be a Divine under such a Prince. Which Piety of his was set off with a whole Train of Moral Virtues. His Temperance was so great and impregnable amidst all those Allurements with which the Courts of Kings are apt to melt the most Stoical and resolved Minds, that he did at the same time both teach and upbraid the Court; so that it was not so much their own Vices, as his Virtue, that render'd their Debauchery inexcusable. Look over the whole Race of our Kings, and take
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in the Kings of *Israel* to boot, and Who ever kept the Bonds of Conjugal Affection so inviolate? *David* was chiefly eminent for Repenting in this Matter; *Charles* for not needing Repentance. None, ever of greater Fortitude of Mind, which was more resplendent in the Conquest of himself, and in those miraculous Instances of his passive Valour, than if he had strewn the Field with the Rebels Arms, and to the Suffrage of his own Cause, joyned the Success of theirs; and yet, withal, so Meek, so Gentle, so Merciful, and that even to Cruelty to himself, that if ever the Lion dwelt with the Lamb, if ever Courage and Meekness were united, it was in the Breast of this Royal Person; and which makes the Rebellion more ugly and intolerable, there was scarce any Person of Note among his Enemies, who did not wear his Colours, and carry some particular mark of his Favour and Obligations; some were his own Menial Servants, and eat Bread at his Table, before they lifted up their Heel against him; some received from him Honours, some Offices and Employments. I could mention Particulars of each kind, did I think their Names fit to be heard in a Church, or from a Pulpit. In short, he so behaved

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behaved himself toward them, that their Rebellion might be Malice indeed, but could not be Revenge.

And these his Personal Virtues shed a suitable influence upon his Government for the space of 17 Years; the Peace, Plenty and Honour of the *English* Nation, spread it self even to the Envy of all Neighbouring Countries; and when that Plenty had pamper'd them into Unruliness and Rebellion, yet still the Justice of his Government left them at a loss for an Occasion to Rebel, till at last Ship-Money was pitch'd upon as fit to be form'd by Excise and Taxes, and the burden of the Subjects took off by Plunderings and Sequestrations. The King, now to scatter that Cloud which began to gather, and look black upon the Church and State, made those Condescensions to their Impudent Petitions, that they had scarce any thing to make War for, but what was granted them already; and having thus stript himself of his Prerogative, he left it clear to the World, that there was nothing left for them to fight for, but only his Life. Afterward, in the prosecution of this unnatural War, what Overtures did he make for Peace? Nay, when he had his Sword in his Hand, his Armies about him,

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him, and a Cause to justifie him before God and Man, how did he chuse to compound himself into nothing? To Depose and Un-King himself by their hard and inhumane Conditions? But all was nothing: He might as well complement a Mastiff, or court a Tyger, as think to win those who were now hardned in Blood, and thorough-pac'd in Rebellion. Yet the Truth is, his Conscience Uncrown'd him, as having a Mind too pure and delicate to admit of those Maxims and Practises of State, that usually make Princes Great and Successful.

Having thus with an unheard of Loyalty fought against him, and conquer'd him, they commit him to Prison, and the King himself Notes, that it has always been observ'd, that there is but little distance between the Prisons of Kings and their Graves; to which I subjoyn, that where the Observation is constant, there must be some standing Cause of the Connexion of the thing observed; and indeed it is a direct Translation from the Prison to the Grave; the difference between them being only this; that he who is Buried, is Imprisoned under Ground, and he that is Imprisoned, is Buried above Ground; and I could wish, that as they slew and bu-

ried

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ried his Body, so we had not also buried his Funeral.

But, to finish this poor and imperfect Description, tho' it is of a Person so Renowned, that he neither needs the best, nor can be injured by the worst: Yet, in short, he was a Prince whose Vertues were as prodigious as his Sufferings; a true Father of his Country, if but for this only, that he was Father of such a Son. And yet the most Innocent of Men, and best of Kings, so Pious and Virtuous, so Learned and Judicious, so Merciful and Obliging; was rebell'd against, drove out of his own House, pursu'd as a Partridge on the Mountains, like an Eagle in his own Dominions, inhumanely Imprisoned, and for a Catastrophe of all, most barbarously Murthered; tho' in this his Murder was the less woful, in that his Death releas'd him from his Prison.

2. Having thus seen the Person suffering, let us in the next Place see the Preparations of this Bloody Fact; and indeed it would be but a preposterous Course, to insist only on the Consequent, without taking notice of the Antecedent. It were too long to dig to the Spring of this Rebellion, and to lead up to the Secrecies of its first Contrivance; but
as

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as *David's* Phrase is, upon another Occasion, it was framed and fashioned in the lowest parts of the Earth, and there it was fearfully and wonderfully made, a Work of Darknes and Retirement, removed from the Eye of Witnesses, even that of Conscience also; for Conscience was not admitted into their Council. But their first Aim was to procure a *Levite* to Consecrate their Design, and a Factious Ministry to Christen it the Cause of God: They still own their Party for God's own *Israel*, and being so, it must needs be their Duty to come out of *Egypt*, though they provide themselves a Red Sea for their Passage.

For their Assistance they repair to the Northern Steel, and bring in an unnatural mercenary Crew, that like a shoal of Locusts covered the Land, such as inherited the Description of those, which God brought upon his People the *Jews*; a Nation fierce, peeled and scattered; and still we shall read that God punished his People from the North, as *Jer. l. 3. Out of the North comes Destruction, which shall make the Land desolate. Jer. iv. 6. I will bring Evil from the North, and great Destruction.* Now to endear and unite these into one Interest, they
invented

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invented a Covenant, much like to that which some are said to make with Hell, and an Agreement with Death. It was the most solemn piece of Perjury, the most fatal Engine against the Church, and bane of Monarchy; the greatest Snare of Souls, and Mystery of Iniquity, that ever was hammered out by the Wit and Wickedness of Man. I shall not, as they do, abuse Scripture Language, and call it the Blood of the Covenant, but give it its proper Title, *The Covenant of Blood*; such an one as the Brethren, *Simeon* and *Levi*, made, when they were going about the like Designs; their very Posture of taking it was an ominous mark of its Intent; and their holding up their Hands, was a sign they were going to strike. It was such an *Oleo* of Treason and Tyranny, that one of the Assembly of their own Prophets gives this Testimony of it, in his Narration upon it (and his Testimony is true) That it was such a Covenant, that whether you respect the Subject-Matter of it, or the Occasion of it, or the Persons engaged in it, or lastly the manner of imposing it, the like was never read, seen, or heard of. The Truth is, it bears no other likeness to other ancient Covenants, than, as at the making of
l them,

them, they flew Beasts and divided them, so this was solemniz'd with Blood, Slaughter and Division. But that I may not accuse in general, without a particular Charge; Read it over as it stands prefix'd to their Catechisms (as if without it their System of Divinity was not compleat, nor their Children like to become Christians, unless they were Schooled to Treason, and Catechiz'd to Rebellion) I say, in the Covenant as it stands here, in the third Article of it, after they had first promised to defend the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; at length they also promis'd to defend the Person of the King, *viz.* in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; So that their Promise of Loyalty to him was not Absolute, but Conditional, bound Hand and Foot with this Simulation, so far as he preserveth the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom. Now those very Persons who Covenanted thus, had already from Pulpit and Press declar'd, the Religion and way of Worship establish'd in the Church of *England*, and then maintain'd by the King, to be False, Popish and Idolatrous; and

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and withal, that the King had invaded their Liberties. Now for Men to suspend their Obedience upon certain Conditions, which very Conditions they declar'd at the same time not perform'd, was not to profess Obedience, but remonstrate the Reasons of intended Disobedience. We have seen the Doctrine of the Covenant; See now the Use of this Doctrine, as it was charg'd home with a suitable Application, in a War rais'd against the King, in the cruel Usage and Imprisonment, Killing, Sequestering and Undoing of all that adhered to him. All which Home-proceedings, tho' his Majesty now stupendiously forgives, yet the World will not, cannot yet forget; his Indemnity is not an Oblivion: And for those Persons who now clamour and cry out, they are Persecuted, because they are no longer permitted to Persecute; and who choose rather to quit the Ministry, than disown the Obligation of the Covenant, I leave to all impartial and understanding Minds to judge, whether they do not by this openly declare to the World, that they hold themselves obliged by Oath, as they are able, to act over again all that hath hitherto been done by virtue

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of the Covenant, and consequently that they left not Places for being Non-conformists to the Church, but for being virtually Rebels to the Crown; which makes them just as worthy to be indulged, as a Dropsie, or a malignant Feaver, which is exasperated by mitigations, and inflamed by every cooling Infusion.

But to draw the Premises closer to the Purpose, I argue: That which was the proper means to enable the King's Enemies to make War against him, and upon that War to Conquer, and upon that Conquest to Imprison, and inevitably to put the Power in the Hands of those, who by that Power in the end did Murther him; That, according to the Genuine consequence of Reason, was the natural Cause of his Murder. This is the Proposition that I assert, but I shall not trouble my self to make the Assumption; and indeed those who wipe their Mouths, and lick themselves Innocent by clapping this Act upon the Army, make just the same Plea that *Pilate* did for his Innocency in the Death of Christ, because he left the Execution to the Soldiers; or what the Soldiers may make for clearing themselves of all this Blood that they have spilt, by charging it upon their Swords. I conclude therefore, that this was
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the gradual Proceſs to this horrid Act, this the Train laid to blow up Monarchy, this the Step by which the King aſcended the Scaffold.

3. Come we now in the third Place to ſhew who were the Actors in this Tragick Scene. When through the anger of Providence, the thriving Army of Rebels had worſted Juſtice, cleared the Field, ſubdued all Oppoſitions and Riſings, even to the very Inſurrections of Conſcience it ſelf; ſo that Impunity at length grew into Reputation of Piety, and Succeſs gave Rebellion the varniſh of Religion; that they might conſummate their Villany, the Gown was called in to compleat the Execution of the Sword; and to make *Westminster-Hall* a Place to take away Lives as well as Eſtates, a new Court was ſet up, and Judges pack'd, who had no more to do with Juſtice, than ſo far forth as they deſerved to be the Objects of it: In which they firſt begin with a Confutation of the *Civilians* Notion of Juſtice, and Jurisdiction, it being with them no longer an Act of the Supreme Power. Such an Inferior Crew, ſuch a Mechanick Rabble were they, having not ſo much as any Arms to ſhew the World, but what they uſed in

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Rebellion; that when I survey the List of the King's Judges, and the Witnesses against him, I seem to have before me a Catalogue of all Trades, and such as might have better filled the Shops of *Westminster-Hall*, than sat on the Benches; some of which came to be Possessors of the King's Houses, who before had no certain dwelling but the King's High-way; and some might have continued Tradesmen still, had not Want and Inability to Trade sent them to the War. Now that a King, such a King, should be Murther'd by such, the basest of his Subjects, and not like a *Nimrod* (as some sanctified Preachers have called him) but like *Actæon* torn by a pack of Blood-Hounds; that the steam of a Dunghil should thus obscure the Sun; this so much enhanceth the Calamity of this Royal Person, and makes his Death as different from his who is Conquer'd and Slain by another King, as it is between being torn by a Lion, and being eaten up by Vermin; Pardon the Expression, for it came into my Mind by speaking of those, many of which were some time Beggars. For the Feet to trample upon, yea kick at the Head, would it not look like a Monster? But indeed, these of all others were the fittest Instruments for
such

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such a Work ; for base Descent and poor Education disposeth the Mind to Impiouness and Cruelty ; as of Beasts those are the most Savage, which are bred in Dens, and have their Extraction from under Ground : These therefore were the worthy Judges and Condemners of that Great King ; even the refuse of the People, and the very Scum of the Nation, that was at that time both the uppermost and basest part of it.

4. Pass we now in the fourth place to the Circumstances and Manner of proceeding in this ugly Fact. And the Circumstances we know have the greatest cast in determining the nature of all Actions, as we judge of any one's Parts or Qualities by the nature of his Attendants. 1st, Then, it was not done like other Works of Darknes, in secret, nor (as they use to Preach) in a Corner, but publicly, coloured with the Face of Justice, managed with Openness and Solemnity, as Solemn as the League and Covenant it self. History indeed affords us many Examples of Princes clandestinely Murther'd, which tho' it be Villanous, is in it self more excusable ; for he that doth such a thing in secret, by the manner of doing confesseth himself ashamed of the thing he does : but he that acts

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in the Face of the Sun, vouches his Work for Laudable, Glorious and Heroick. Having brought him to the High Court of Justice (so called I conceive because Justice was there Arraign'd and Condemn'd, or perhaps because it never shewed Mercy) by a way of Trial as unheard of as the Court, He was not permitted so much as to speak in his own Defence, but with the Innocence and Silence of a Lamb, Condemn'd to Slaughter, and it would have been well for them if they could as easily have imposed silence on his Blood. Being Condemn'd, they spit in his Face, and deliver'd him to the Mockery and Affronts of the Soldiers; so that I wonder where the Blasphemy lies, which some charge upon those who make the King's Suffering something to resemble our Saviour's; but is it Blasphemy to compare the King to Christ in that respect, in which Christ himself was made like a Servant? For can he be like us in all Things, and we not like him? Certainly there was something in that Providence, that appointed so long ago the Chapter to be read on the day of our Saviour's Passion, to be read likewise on the day of our King's; and I am sure that the resemblance is so near, that had he lived before him,
he

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he had been a Type of him. I confess there is some disparity in the Case, for they shewed themselves worse than the *Jews*. But however, since they object that we make the King like Christ, I am willing it should be their Commendation to be as unlike Christ as they please.

Let us now follow him from their Mock-Tribunal to the Place of his Residence till his Execution. Nothing remains for a Man Condemned, and presently to leave the World, but these two Things, 1st, To take leave of his Friends, a thing not denied to the vilest Malefactor, which is sufficiently apparent in that it hath not been denied to themselves: Yet no Intreaties from him or his Royal Consort, could prevail with these Murderers to let her take the last Farewel and Commands of her dying Husband. He was permitted to take no Farewel but to the World. Thus was he stript of all, even from the Prerogative of a Prince, to the Privilege of a Malefactor. The next thing desired by all dying Christians, is freedom to converse with God, and to prepare themselves to meet him at his dreadful Tribunal; but with an *Italian* cruelty to the Soul as well as the Body, they debar him of this
freedom

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freedom also, and even Solitude, his former Punishment, is now too great an Enjoyment. But that they might shew themselves no less Enemies to private, than they had been to publick Prayers, they disturb his Retirements, and with Scoffs and continual Calumnies upbraid those Devotions which were then interceding for them; and I question not but Fanatick Fury was at that height, that they would have laughed at Christ himself had he used his own Prayer.

With these Præludiums is he brought to the last Scene of Mockeries and Cruelty, to a Stage erected before his own Palace; and for a greater affront to Majesty, before that part of it in which he was wont to display his Royalty, and to give Audience to Ambassadors, where now he could not obtain Audience for himself, in his last Addresses to his abused Subjects. There he receives the fatal Blow; there he dies conquering and pardoning his Enemies, and at length finds that faithfully performed on the Scaffold, which was at first promised in the Parliament; and perhaps in the same Sense, *that he should be a glorious King*. And even this Death was the Mercy of the Murderers, considering what kind of Death several propos'd when they sat in Council about the manner of it,
even

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even no less than to execute him in his Robes, and afterwards to drive a Stake thro' his Head and Body to stand as a Monument on his Grave. In short, all kinds of Death were proposed, that either their Malice could suggest, or their own Guilt deserve. And would these then now find in their Hearts, or have the Face to desire to live? And to plead a Pardon from the Son, who thus Murthered the Father? I speak not only of those Wretches who openly embrued their Hands, in the bloody Sentence, but of those more considerable Traytors who had the Villany to manage the Contrivance, and yet the Cunning to disappear at the Execution, and perhaps the good luck to be preferred after it. And for those who now survive, by a Mercy as incredible as their Crimes, which has left them to the soft Expiation of Solitude and Repentance; tho' usually all the Professions that such make of Repentance, are nothing else but the faint Resentments of a guilty Horrour, the Convulsions and last Breathings of a gasping Conscience: As the Mercy by which they live is made a visible defiance to Government, and a standing Encouragement to these Alarms of Plots and Conspiracies: So I beseech God that even their sup-
posed

posed Repentance be not such, as both themselves and the Kingdom hereafter may have bitter cause too late to repent of. And if indeed they should prove such as have no Conscience but Horror, who by the same Crimes will be made irreconcilable, for which they deserve to be unpardonable; who would resume those Repentings upon Opportunities, which they made upon Extremity; and being saved from the Gallows, make the usual requital that is made for that kind of Deliverance; I say, if such Persons should only for a time be chained, and tied up, like so many Lions in the *Tower*, that they may gain more Fierceness, and run again at Majesty, Religion, Laws, Churches, and the Universities; whether God intends by this a Repetition of our former Confusions, or a General Massacre of our Persons (which is most likely) the Lord in his Mercy fit and enable us to endure the smart of a mis-improved Providence, and the infatuated frustration of such a miraculous Deliverance.

But to return to this Blessed Martyr. We have seen him Murder'd, and is there any other Scene of Cruelty to act? Is not Death the end of the Murderers Malice, as well as of the Life of him that is Murdered? No, there

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there is another and viler Instance of their implacable Cruelty; in the very Imbalming of his Body, and taking out of his Bowels (which had they not relented to his Enemies, had not been so handled) they gave order to those to whom that Work was committed, diligently to search and see (I speak it with Shame and Indignation) whether his Body was not infected with some loathsome Disease; I suppose, that which some of his Judges were so much troubled with. Now any one may see, that farther to intimate an Inquiry was, in effect, to enjoin the Report. And here let any one judge, whether the remorseless Malice of imbittered Rebels, ever rose to such an heighth of Tyranny; the very Embalming his Body must be made a means of corrupting his Name; as if his Murder was not compleat, if, together with his Life, they did not assassinate his Fame, and butcher his Reputation: But the Body of that Prince, Innocent and Virtuous even to a Miracle, had none of the Ruins and genteel Rottenness of our Modern Debauchery; it was firm and clear like his Conscience: He fell like a Cedar, no less Fragrant than Tall and Stately; Rottenness of Heart and Bone belong to his Murderers,
the

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the Noisomness of whose Carcasses, caused by the Noisomness of their Lives, might even retaliate and revenge their Sufferings, and while they are under the Execution, poison the Executioner. But the last grand comprehensive Circumstance, which is as it were the very Form and Spirit that did actuate and run thro' all the rest, is, that it was done with the pretence of Conscience, and the Protestations of Religion, with Eyes lift up to Heaven, Expostulating with God with Pleas of Providence, and inward Infigurations, till at last with much Labour and many Groans, they were delivered of their conceived Mischief. And certainly we have cause to deplore this Murder with Fasting, if it were but for this Reason, that it was contrived and committed with Fasting; every Fast portended some Villany, as still a Famine ushers in a Plague: But as Hunger serves only for Appetite, so they never ordained an Humiliation, but for doing something, which being done might find them matter of a Thanksgiving; and such a Fury did abused Piety inspire into the Church Militant, upon these Exercises, that we might as safely meet an hungry Boar, as a preaching Colonel after a Fast, whose murd'rous

Humi-

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Humiliations strangely verifie that Prophecy in *Isai. 8. 2. When they shall be hungry, they shall curse their King and their God, and look upwards*; that is, they should rebel and blaspheme devoutly; tho' by the way, he that is always looking upwards, can little regard how he walks below.

But was there any thing in the whole Book of God to warrant this Rebellion? Instead of Obedience, will they Sacrifice him whom they ought to obey? Why yes: *Daniel* dreamed a Dream, and there is also something in the *Revelations* concerning a Beast, and a little Horn, and a fifth Vial, and therefore the King ought undoubtedly to die: But if neither You nor I can gather so much from these places, they will tell us 'tis because we are not inwardly enlightened. But others more knowing, but not less wicked, insist not so much on the Warrant of it from Scripture, but plead Providential Dispensations; God's Works, it seems, must be regarded before his Words; and their *Latin* Advocate, Mr. *Milton*, who like a blind Adder has spit so much Poison on the King's Person and Cause, speaks to this roundly, *Deum secuti Ducem, & impressa passim Divina vestigia venerantes, viam haud obscuram,*
sed

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*sed illustrem, & illius auspiciis commonstratam
& patefactam ingressi sumus.*

But must we read God's Mind in his Foot-steps, or in his Words? This is as if when we have a Man's Hand-writing, we should Endeavour to take his Meaning by the measure of his Foot. But still is pleading Conscience, a Covering for all Enormities, and an Answer to all Questions and Accusations also. What made them Fight against, Imprison, and Murder their lawful Sovereign? Why Conscience. What made them extirpate the Government, and pocket up the Revenues of the Church? Conscience. What made them perjure themselves with contrary Oaths? What made Swearing a Sin, and Forswearing none? What made them lay hold on God's Promises, and break their own? Conscience. What made them Sequester, Persecute and Undo their Brethren, ravin their Estates, and ruine their Families, get into their Places, and then say they only rob the *Egyptians*? Why still this large capacious thing is Conscience. The Poet says, *Vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto*; which I think may be properly construed thus, If you would be Rich, be (in their sense) Conscientious. We have lived under that Model
of

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of Religion, in which nothing has been counted Impious, but Loyalty, nor Absurd, but Restitution. But, Oh Blessed God! to what an height can prosperous, audacious Impiety rise? Was it not enough that Men once Crucified Christ, but that there must be a Generation of Men, who would Crucifie Christianity? Must he who taught no Defence but Patience, allowed no Armour but Submission, and never warranted the shedding any Blood but his own, be now again mocked with Soldiers, and vouched the Author and Patron of all those hideous and rebellious Acts, which an ordinary Impiety would stand amazed at, and which in this World he has so plainly condemned in his Word, and will hereafter severely sentence in his own Person? Certainly these Monsters are not only Spots in Christianity, but so many standing Exceptions from Humanity and Nature.

5. In the Fifth and last Place, let us view the horridness of the Fact, in the fatal Consequences that did attend it. Every Villainy is like a great absurdity, drawing after it a numerous train of homogeneous Consequences, and none ever spread it self into more than this. But I shall endeavour to
m reduce

reduce them all into two sorts ; such as were of a Civil, and such as were of a Religious Concern.

And First for the Civil, Political Consequences of it ; there immediately followed a change of that Government, whose praise had been proclaim'd even by its Enemies. It was now shred into Democracy ; and the Stream of Government being cut into many Channels, ran thin and shallow, whereupon the Subjects had many Masters, and every Servant so many distinct Services. But the Wheel of Providence, which they only look'd at, and that even to giddiness, did not stop here, but by a fatal Vicissitude, the Power and Wickedness of those many, were again compacted into one, and from that one returning again into many, with several attending Variations, till at length we pitch'd upon one again, one beyond whom they could not go, the *Ne plus ultra* of all Regal Excellencies, as all Change tends to, and at last ceases upon its acquired Perfection. Nor was the Government only, but the Glory of our Nation also chang'd ; distinctions of Orders confounded, the Gentry and Nobility, who voted the Bishops out of their Dignities in Parliament, by the just Judgment of God
were

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were thrust out themselves, and brought under the lash of an imperious Beggar on Horseback. Learning was discountenanced, and the Universities threatned; the Law to be reformed; the Model of the Nation to be burnt; such an inundation and Deluge of Ruine, Reformation and Confusion, had spread it self upon the whole Nation, that it seem'd a kind of resemblance of *Noah's Flood*, in which a few Men surviv'd among Beasts.

The Second sort of Consequences were of Religious Concern. I speak not of the Contempts and Rebukes lying upon the Preachers of those Days; for they brought their Miseries upon themselves, and had a great deal more cause to curse their own seditious Sermons, than to curse *Meroz*. They founded the first Trumpet to Rebellion, and like the Saints, had Grace to persevere in what they first began; courting an Usurper, and calling themselves his Loyal and Obedient Subjects, never endeavouring so much as to think of their lawful Sovereign. I speak not therefore of these, but the great destructive Consequence of this Fact was, That it left a lasting slur upon the Protestant Religion. *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the Streets of Ashkelon, lest the Daughters of the*
m 2 *Philistins*

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Philistins triumph, lest the Papacy laugh us to scorn. I confess the seditious writings of some who call themselves Protestants, have sufficiently bespattered their Religion. See *Calvin* warranting the three Estates to oppose their Prince, 4 *Inst.* 20th, 31. See Mr. *Knox's* Appeal, and in that, Arguments for resisting the Civil Magistrate. Read Mr. *Buchanan's* Discourse *De jure Regni apud Scotos.* Read *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, under the Name of *Junius Brutus*, writ by *Ottoman the Civilian.* See *Pareus* on the 13th to the *Romans*, where he states a large Term *atrocem aliqua injuria*, and a very easie Application to be sufficient reason for the taking up Arms against the King. But this is rather a Comment on the Covenant, than on the 13th to the *Romans.* Both of which, as they teach the same Doctrine, so they deserved and had justly the same Confutation. But these Principles, like sleeping Lyons, lay still a great while, and never were compleatly awaked, nor appeared in the Field, till the *French* Holy League, and the *English* Rebellion. Let the Powder Plot be as bad as it will, yet still there is as much difference between that and the King's Murder, as between an Action and an Attempt: What
Bulls

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Bulls and Anathemas could not do, seditious Sermons have brought about. What was then contriv'd against the Parliament, has since been done by it: What the Papists Powder intended, the Soldiers Matches have effected. I say, let the Powder Plot be look'd upon, as indeed it is, the product of Hell, as black as the Souls and Principles that hatcht it; yet still this Reformation-Murder will preponderate, and *January* always have the precedency of *November*.

And thus I have traced this accursed Fact through all the Parts and Ingredients of it: And now if we reflect upon the Quality of the Person upon whom it was done; the Condition of the Persons that did it; the Means, Manner and Circumstances of its Transaction; I suppose it will fill up the Measure, and reach the heights of the words in the Text, *That there was never such a thing done or seen since the day that the Children of Israel came out of the Land of Egypt until this day.* For my part, my Apprehensions of it overcharge my Expressions, and how to set it off I know not, for black receives no other Colour: But when I call to mind all the Ideas of Horror, and all the Records of the *Grecian* and *Barbarian*

m 3

Murders,

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Murders, together with new fancied Instances, and unhear'd of Possibilities, yet I find none parallel, and therefore have this only to say of the King's Murder; That it is a thing, than which nothing can be imagin'd more strange, and amazing, and astonishing, except its Pardon.

And now having done with the first part of my Text, does it not naturally engage me in the Second? Must such a Deed as was never seen nor heard of, never be spoken of, or must it be strok'd with smooth mollifying Expressions? Is this the way to cure the Wound, by pouring Oil upon those that made it? And must *Absalom* be therefore dealt gently with, because he was a sturdy Rebel? If, as the Text bids us, we consider the Fact, and take Advice with Reason and Conscience, we cannot but obey it in the following words, and speak our Minds. For could *Cræsus's* dumb Son speak upon the very attempting a Murther upon his Prince and Father, and shall a Preacher be dumb when such an Action is committed? Therefore having not yet finished my Text, nor according to the command of it, spoken all my Mind, I have one thing more to propose, and with that to conclude.

Would

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Would you be willing to see this Scene acted over again? To see that restless plotting Humour that now boils and ferments in many Traitors Breasts, once more display it self in the dismal Effects of War and Desolation? Would you see the Rascality of the Nation in Troops and Tumults beleaguer the Royal Palace? Would you hear the Ministers absolving their Congregations from their sacred Oath of Allegiance, and sending them into the Field to lose their Lives and Souls in a professed Rebellion against their Sovereign? Would you see an insolent overturning Army in the Heart and Bowels of the Nation, moving to and fro to the terror of every thing that is Noble, Generous and Religious? Would you see the Loyal Gentry harraßt, starv'd and undone, by the Oppression of base insulting Committees? Would you see the Clergy torn in pieces, and Sacrificed by the Inquisition of Synods, Triers and Commissioners? And to mention the greatest, last; would you have the King, with his Father's Kingdoms inherit also his Fortunes? Would you see the Crown trampled upon, Majesty haled from Prison to Prison, and at length with the vilest Circumstances of Spight and Cruelty, Bleeding and

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Dying at the Feet of bloody inhuman Mifcreants? Would you, now Providence has cast the destructive Interest from the Parliament, and the House is pretty well swept and cleansed, have the old unclean Spirit return, and take to it self seven other Spirits, seven other Interests worse than it self, and dwell there, and so make our latter End worse than our beginning? We hear of Plots and Combinations, Parties joyning and agreeing; let us not trust too much in their Oppositions among themselves. The Elements can fight with each other, and yet unite into one Body, *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, and both equally against the Royal Tribe of *Judah*. Now if we fear the letting loose these Furies again upon us, let us fear the returns of our former Provocations: If we would keep off the Ax from our Princes and Nobles, let us lay it to our Sins; if we would preserve their Lives, let us mend our own. We have complain'd of Armies, Committees, Sequestrations, but our Sins are those that have suck'd the Blood of this Nation. These have purpled the Scaffold with Royal Blood; these have blown up so many Noble Families, have made so many Widows,
have

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have snatch'd the Bread out of the Mouths of so many poor Orphans. 'Tis our not fearing God, hath made others not Honour the King ; our not benefitting by the Ordinances of the Church, that hath enrich'd others with her Spoils. And how is our Church (the only Church in *Christendom* we read of, whose avow'd Principles and Practices disown all Resistance of the Civil Power) struck and laid at, at this time ? But when I hear of Conspiracies, Seditions, Designs, Covenants, or Plots, they do not much move or affright me : But when I see the same Covetousness, the same Drunkenness and Prophaneness, that was first punished in our selves, and then in our sanctified Enemies : When I see Joy turned into Revelling, and Debauchery proclaim'd lowder than it can be proclaim'd against : These, I confess, stagger and astonish me ; nor can I persuade my self we were deliver'd to do all these Abominations. But if we have not the Grace of Christians, yet have we not the Hearts of Men ? Have we no Bowels nor Relentings ? If the Blood and Banishment of our Kings, if the Miseries of our common Mother the Church, ready to fall back into the Jaws of Purchaers and Reformers

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mers cannot move us, yet shall we not at least pity our Posterity? Shall we commit Sins, and breed up our Children to inherit the Curse? Shall the Infants now unborn have cause to say hereafter in the bitterness of their Souls, Our Fathers have eaten fower Grapes of Disobedience, and our Teeth are set on edge with Rebellions and Confusions? How doth any one know, but the Oath that he is now swearing, the very lewdness he is now committing, may be scored up by God as an *Item* for a new Rebellion? We may be Rebels, and yet not Vote in Parliament, nor Sit in Committees, nor Fight in Armies; every Sin is virtually Treason, and we may be guilty of Murder in breaking other Commandments besides the Sixth. But at present we are made whole, God hath by a Miracle healed our Breaches, cured the Maladies, and bound up the Wounds of a bleeding Nation. What remains now, but that we take the Counsel that seconded the like miraculous Cure, *Go our ways, sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon us.* But since our Calamities have reached that height, that they give us rather cause to fear a Repetition, than a possibility of Gradation: I shall dismiss you with the
same

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same Advice upon a different Motive, *Go, Sin no more, lest the same Evil befall you.* Which God of his infinite Mercy prevent; even that God, by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice, by whom their Thrones are Established, and by whom their Blood will be revenged. *To whom, &c. Amen.*



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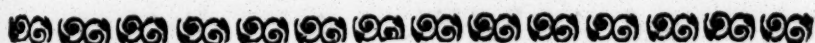
THE

*Ecclesiastical Constitutions to be
strictly maintain'd ;*

A

S E R M O N

'Preached at Oxford.



GALATIANS ii. 5.

*To whom we gave place by sub-
jection, no not for an hour ;
that the Truth of the Gospel
might continue with you.*



CHRISTIANITY having been
now in the World above 1600
Years, there is hardly any Con-
dition that can befall the Church,
but may be parallel'd, or at least resembled
by the Condition it has been in, in some Place
or

or Age before. That which our Church Labours under at present, is, the bold and restless encroachments of many amongst our selves, upon the Bishops and Pastors of it.

1st, By an endeavour to cast out of our Publick Worship some Ceremonies and Usages hitherto received in it; and instead of submitting to their Spiritual Governours in such Matters, they insolently require of their Governours to comply with them, though contrary to their own Judgment, and that also back'd with Truth and Reason, as well as Law and Authority. And then (upon their refusal to yield to such Innovators) by traducing them as Persons of another Religion, of a different Christianity; and in a word, as Papists, and Idolaters, for persisting in the use of those Ceremonies, which, upon the most serious deliberation had about these things, by such as laid down their Lives against Popery, have by full Authority both Ecclesiastical and Civil been established in our Church.

Not much unlike this Case of ours, we have one mentioned here, in the Church of *Galatia*, and that as early as the Times of the Apostles themselves; in which many, both *Jews* and *Gentiles* being converted to

Christi-

Christianity, a great Dispute arose, whether the Jewish Customs were to be joyn'd with the Christian Profession, and consequently, whether the converted Gentiles ought not to have been Circumcised according to the Law of *Moses*, as well as Baptized according to the Religion of Christ. The Jewish Converts, who were most infinitely fond of the *Mosaical* Rites, even after their enrollment under Christ's Banner, fiercely contended not only for the continuance of Circumcision amongst themselves, but for obliging the Profelyte Gentiles to the same custom also. And in this their Error they were the more confirmed by the Example and Practice of St. *Peter*, the great Apostle of the Circumcision, (it being the fate of the Church then, as well as since, to have some of its chief Leaders betray the Truth and Interest of it, by unworthy and base compliances with its Enemies.) St. *Peter*, I say, thus Judaizing in some things, and that even contrary to his own Conscience, as well as to the Truth of the Gospel, (for the Text tells us in the 12th and 13th Verses, that it was neither better nor worse than downright dissimulation; and such an one is like a contagious Pest, which spreads the Infection on many more

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more besides himself,) did by his Example mightily encourage those Jewish Christians, not only to have confidence in their Errors, but also to an Expostulation with St. *Paul* himself, who being an Apostle of the Gentiles, both Taught and Practised quite otherwise; and so far did it carry them, that they questioned the very Truth of his Doctrine, calling it another Gospel, and by no means the same that Christ and the rest of the Apostles had taught before, as is intimated in the 1st Chapter, and the 9th Verse. They reflected also very slightly on his Person, and Apostleship, extolling St. *Peter* and others as Pillars, but despising St. *Paul* as nothing in comparison. Upon which, St. *Paul* coming to visit these *Galatian* Converts, with *Titus* his Companion, they press him very earnestly, and with an importunity next to compulsion, to have *Titus* Circumcised, according to their false Notion of the necessity of Circumcision. And yet as false as this Opinion was, it wanted not some colour of Arguments; for might not these *Galatians* plead, in behalf of the continuance of Circumcision, that Christ himself declared, *He came not to destroy the Law of Moses, but to confirm and fulfil it?* And was not

not this Circumcision one of the most considerable parts of the Law? So considerable indeed, as to be the grand obligation to bind Men to all the rest. Did not also Christ command his own Disciples to hear and do what the *Pharisees* taught them out of *Moses's* Chair, and did they teach or own any thing equally necessary, or more necessary than Circumcision? As a confirmation of all this, did not St. *Peter*, who was the proper Apostle of the Circumcision, agree and concur with them in the Practice of it, or at least not dissuade them from it; nay, and did not St. *Paul* himself cause *Timothy* to be circumcised? And if in this Matter there should be any difference between these two Apostles, was not the Advantage clearly on St. *Peter's* side, who having conversed Personally with Christ in the flesh, might rationally be presumed to know the true sense and design of the Gospel more than St. *Paul*, who had not that benefit? And consequently that it must be much safer for them in that Controversie to adhere to the former, than to the latter. Lastly, Over and above all, might they not plead themselves extremely scandalized, grieved and offended at the disusage of Circumcision, which

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they

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they were sure was at first Instituted by God, and never since (for what they could find) forbidden by Christ, but rather on the contrary, countenanced by his own Practice? These things certainly carry some shew of Reason in them, and were much more forcible Allegations for Circumcision, than any that our Sectarists bring against our Ceremonies; and yet as forcible as they seemed, they had no other effect on St. *Paul*, than that with great stiffness he rejects both them, and those that urged them; and upon a full hearing of the Merits of the whole Cause, resolves not to give Place to them, no not for an Hour.

This was the occasion of these words; in which are Five Particulars worth our Observation.

1st, A fierce opposition made by some Erroneous Private Christians in the Church of *Galatia* against St. *Paul*, a great Apostle, and consequently of prime Authority in the Church of Christ.

2^{dly}, The Cause of this Opposition, the violent and unreasonable demands made to him to confirm the Practice of a thing as necessary, which in it self was not so.

3^{dly},

3^{dly}, The Methods taken in this Opposition, *viz.* Slandering his Doctrine, and detracting from the Credit and Authority of his Person, for withstanding these their encroaching demands.

4^{thly}, The wholsom Method made use of by the Apostle in dealing with these violent Encroachers; That was, *not to give place to them in the least, no not for an hour.*

5^{thly}, And lastly, The End and Design intended by the Apostle in this his Method of dealing with them, *viz.* The preservation of the Gospel in the Truth and Purity of it, that those Sacred Truths might have their due regard among them.

The Sum of all which Particulars, I shall connect into this one Proposition, which shall be the Subject of this following Discourse; namely, That the best and most Apostolical way to Establish a Church, and to secure it in a lasting continuance of the Truth and Purity of the Gospel, is for the Governors and Ministers of it not to give Place at all, or yield up the least received Constitution of it to the Demands or Pretences of such as dissent or separate from it; all which is a plain, natural, undeniable inference from the practice of St. *Paul* in a Case so like

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ours, that a liker can hardly be imagined. The Prosecution of this Proposition I shall endeavour to manage under the following Heads.

First, I shall Consider and Examine the Pretences alledged by Dissenters for our remitting or yielding up any of our Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

Secondly, I shall shew you the Natural Consequences of such a tame Resignation.

Thirdly, I shall shew what influence and efficacy a strict adherence to the Constitutions of the Church, and an absolute refusal to part with any of them, is likely to have upon the Settlement of the Church, and Purity of the Gospel amongst us.

But before I enter upon the discussion of any of these, I must premise this Observation, and Rule of all I shall say upon this Subject, *viz.* That the Case is altogether the same, of requiring upon the account of Conscience forbearance of Practices in themselves lawful, through a pretence of their unlawfulness, and an imposing upon the Conscience Practices in themselves not necessary, upon allegation and pretence of their necessity; which latter was the Case between St. Paul and these *Galatians*, as the former is between our Church and the Sectarists. Now
both

both of these Courses are superstitious, and equally so. For though Lewdness and Ignorance have still carried the cry of Superstition against our Church Ceremonies; yet, (as a Learned Prelate † hath fully proved in his Visitation Sermon) that Charge truly recoils upon our Dissenters, in the very Point and Matter before us. For as to urge the Practice of a thing indifferent as a part of God's Worship, and for it self necessary to be practised, (which our Church never did, nor does in the Injunction of any of her Ceremonies) is superstitious; so to make it necessary to abstain from Practices in themselves lawful, or at least indifferent, alledging that they are Sinful, and consequently that an abstinence from them is part of our Obedience to God, this is altogether as Superstitious, and diametrically opposite to, and destructive of the Christian Liberty that Christ has invested his Church with.

This premised, I shall now enter upon the first Thing proposed; which was to consider and examine the Pretences alledged by Dissenters, for the quitting or yielding up any of the Constitutions of the Church. And here in a noted Discourse so acceptable

† Bishop *Sanderfon*.

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to such as hate the Church, and hope shortly to ruin it, we have their chief pretences already gathered to our Hands, under very few Heads, *viz.* The Infirmary, the Importunity, and plausible Exceptions of our Sectarists; concerning the first of which, the Plea of Infirmary or Weakness, if it be meant of such a weakness (as it must be, if it argues any thing) as in the 14th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, or the 8th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the *Corinthians*, St. *Paul* speaks of in those weak Brethren, who in his time being newly converted from *Judaism*, or *Gentilism*, were for a while to be born with in some things: It is most evident that the Case of these Converts then, and of our Dissenters now, are so widely different, that where People have from their Infancy been brought up in a Christian Church, and by Christian Parents and Teachers, such Infirmary or Weakness the Apostle there mentions in Persons newly converted from other Religions, neither is nor can be pleaded; since after so many opportunities of Instruction, there can be no doubting or dissatisfaction in things necessary to be known, practiced, or forborn, but what in all Persons enjoying those means is very culpable, and

and in most inexcusable; so that the Plea is impertinent.

2dly, And for that other of Importunity, it is so senseless, and withal so shameless a Pretence, that it may be referred even to the Judgment of those that make it; whether in case this was admitted against things legally established, any Laws in the World could possibly subsist or continue, where People were bold and violent enough to oppose and exclaim against them. And since the Civil State has found it necessary to arm it self with Laws against Sturdy Beggars, it is methinks somewhat hard, that in the Ecclesiastical State, Sturdy Beggars should controul the Laws. In the last place therefore, let us see what is to be ascribed to their Phrase of plausible Exceptions, where it will concern us, first of all to enquire into the force and meaning of this word Plausible, this high and mighty word, to which the long received constitution of a whole Church ought to give place. Now Plausible, I conceive, may have one of these two Significations.

1st, It may be taken for that which carries with it more appearance and shew of Reason, than its opposite, in the Judgment or Opinion of the Multitude; or,

2dly, For that which carries a greater appearance and shew of Reason in the Judgment of the more sensible part of Mankind. In either of these Senses, I shall shew that it makes nothing for them, and that from the following Considerations.

1st, Because there is actually a Church, a greater number of Persons in the Nation, that practice and conform to the use of those things now in debate between us, than there is of those who stand off, and abstain from them. This being so, unless we will judge those Men gross Hypocrites, we are bound in Reason and Christian Charity to believe, that there appears to them a greater ground of Reason, why they should so conform, than why they should not; and consequently the first signification of Plausibility fails our Dissenters, since the number of those to whom Conformity appears more rational, is much larger than the number of those to whom the Exceptions against it appear to be so. In this Sense therefore the Exceptions cannot be allowed to be so much as plausible; but then,

2dly, Admitting (which as they cannot prove, so neither do we grant) that there were this kind of plausibility in their Exceptions brought

brought against Conformity, yet I deny that which is plausible in this sense, that it appears reasonable to the opinion and vogue of the Multitude, ought to take place of that which is deemed to have greater reason for it in the Sense and Judgment of the more knowing, though much inferior to the other in number : which is the other sense in which I shew'd the word plausible may be taken.

3^{dly}, The Third Consideration is, that since the governing part of the Church and State have declared for Conformity, by making Laws to enjoin it ; and since in all Governments the advantage of Wisdom and Knowledge in making or changing, must in reason be presumed to be rather on the side of those that Govern, than of those that are to be Govern'd ; it follows, that according to the other sense of plausibility, conformity and the Reasons for it are more plausible, than the Exceptions and Arguments alledged against it.

4^{thly}, The Fourth and Last Consideration, which eradicates the foregoing Pretence, is, that the ground of passing a thing into a Law, and of retaining that Law when once made, is not the plausibility of
the

thing or Law to the sense of the vulgar, but the real conducibility of it to the good of the Multitude; and that accords to the Sense and Judgment of those who are to Govern and make Laws for it. To which I add farther, that a thing may be really and practicably conducing to the good of the multitude, though neither suitable to the Opinion or Humour of it, and consequently no ways plausible to it.

Now from these Four Consequences, it being manifest how insignificant that pretence taken from the plausibility of the Nonconformists Exceptions against the constitutions of our Church, proves to be, since they are neither plausible, as proceeding from the Wise and Governing part of the Nation, nor yet as from the greater or more numerous part of it; nor lastly, ought to have any controul upon the Laws, though they were never so plausible upon this last Account: I shall pass from the plausibility to the force of the Exceptions, and see whether we can meet with any strength of Reason, where we have not yet found the shew. And here I shall not pretend to recount them all in particular, but only take them as reducible to, and derivable from the following three Heads.

• *First,*

First, The Unlawfulness, or,

Secondly, The Inexpediency, or

Thirdly, And lastly, the smallness of the things excepted against ; I shall only touch briefly upon each of them, for the compass of this Discourse will allow no more.

1st, For their leading Plea of the unlawfulness of our Ceremonies, grounded upon the old baffled Argument drawn from the illegality of Will-worship, and the Prohibition of adding to and detracting from the Word and Worship of God : No other Answer can or need be given to it, but that which has been given over and over. That our Ceremonies are not esteemed by our Church, either as Divine Worship, or as any necessary essential part of it, but only as Circumstances and external Appurtenances for the more decent performance of the Worship. For that Man should of his own Will impose on us any thing as the necessary Worship of God, or add any thing to the Worship as a necessary essential part of it, this questionless (as the afore-mentioned Allegations sufficiently prove) must needs be sinful. But if from hence it be affirmed also, that no circumstance is to be allowed in Divine Worship, but what is declared and enjoined

enjoyed by exprefs Scripture; the confequence of this is fo infufferably ridiculous, that it will extend to the making it unlawful for the Church to appoint any Place or Houfe for God's Worſhip; nay, it will lead alſo to the very taking down of Pulpits, Reading-Deſks, Fonts, and every thing elſe circumſtantially Miniſtring to the Diſcharge of Divine Service, if not expreſſy mentioned and commanded in the Word of God. And let them upon the foregoing Principle, avow the abſurdity of the confequence if they can. But it has been well remarked, that theſe Men do not indeed believe themſelves, when they plead our Rites unlawful. For when an Act of Parliament enjoyed all Perſons in Office to take the Sacrament according to the Uſe of the Church of *England* (and that we know is to take it Kneeling) we find none of them refuſing (how Idolatrous ſoever at other times they eſteemed it) rather than turn out of the leaſt Office of Gain they were poſſeſſed of; which had it been unlawful, ſurely Men of ſuch tender Conſciences (as they own themſelves to be) would never have been brought to do, ſince not the leaſt unlawful thing ought to be committed for the greateſt Temporal Advantage

vantage whatsoever. But since these Men have by so many other Instances manifested to the World, that they look upon their own Will as their Law, they would do well hereafter to alledge no other Argument for the unlawfulness of our Ceremonies ; and therefore to pass to their second Plea of Inexpediency, or Inconveniency of them ; to which I shall give the two following Answers.

1st, That Inexpediency being a word of a general indefinite Sense, and so determinable by the several Fancies, Humours, Apprehensions and Interests of Men about the same thing, so that what is judged expedient by one Man, is thought inexpedient by another ; the Judgment of the expediency or inexpediency of Matters formed into Laws, ought in all reason to rest wholly in the Legislators and Governors, and consequently no Private Persons ought to be looked upon as competent Judges of the inexpediency of that which the Legislative Power has once Enacted and Established as expedient.

2^{dly}, I affirm also, that that which is not only in itself lawful, but highly conducive to so great a concern of Religion, as Decency and Order in Divine Worship ; and this to that degree, that without it such Order
and

and Decency could not subsist or continue ; this cannot otherwise be inexpedient upon any considerable account whatsoever. But then all these considerations of inexpediency will be abundantly over-ballanced by this one great expediency. For since the outward Acts of Divine Worship cannot be performed, but with some circumstances and posture of Body, either every Man must be left to his own Arbitration, or use what circumstances and postures he pleases, or a Rule must be laid down to direct these things after one and the same manner. The former of necessity infers diversity and variety in the discharge of the same Worship, and that by the same necessity infers disorder and indecency ; which by nothing but an Uniformity in the Behaviour and Circumstances of Persons joyning in one and the same Worship, can be prevented. This Argument, I confess, concurs directly for the necessity of Ceremonies in general about Divine Service ; but so far as ours are argued against upon a general account, and till they are proved particularly unfit for the general End ; the same may be also a defence of ours in particular. Come we now to the

3d And last Exception grounded upon the smallness of the things excepted against ; to which also my Answer is two-fold, (1st,) That these things being in themselves lawful ; and not only so, but also determined by sufficient Authority ; the smallness is so far from being a Reason why Men should refuse and stand out against the use of them, that it is an unanswerable Argument why they should, without any demur, submit and comply with Authority in Matters which they themselves confess to be of no very great moment. For it ought to be a very great and weighty matter indeed, that can warrant a Man in his disobedience to the Injunctions of any lawful Authority ; and that which is a reason why Men should comply with their Governors, I am sure can be no reason why their Governors should give place to them ; but (2dly,) I add farther, that nothing actually enjoined by Law, is or ought to be looked upon as small or little, as to the use or forbearance of it, during the continuance of that Law, nor yet as sufficient reason for the abrogation of that Law, since be the thing never so small in it self, yet being by great deliberation first established, and for a long time since received in the Church,

Church, and contended for with real and great Reason on its side; be the Reasons never so plausible (which yet hitherto does not appear) on the other, yet the consequence of a change cannot be accounted small, since it is certainly very hazardous at best, and doubtful what Mischief it may occasion, how far it may proceed, and where it may end; especially since the experience of all Governments has made it evident, that there was hardly any thing altered in a settled State, that was not followed by more Alterations, and several Inconveniencies attending these Alterations; not indeed at first foreseen, but such as in the event made too great impressions on the Publick to be accounted either small or inconsiderable. These exceptions being therefore stripped of their plausibility and force too, and retorted upon the Patrons of them, it follows, that notwithstanding all our harangues concerning our difference in smaller things (as the Phrase now is) and our contending about Shadows, and the like, made by some amongst us, who would fain be personally Popular at the Publick Cost, and build themselves a Reputation with the Rabble upon the Ruines of the Church, that by all the Obligations of
Oaths

Oaths and Gratitude they are bound to Support, as I am sure that Supports them. It follows, I say, that for the Governours of our Church after all this to be ready to yield up the received Constitutions of it, either to the infirmity, or importunity, or Plausible Exceptions (as their Advocates are pleased to term them) of our clamorous Dissenters, is so far from being a part either of the Piety or Prudence of those Governors, that it is the fear of many both Pious and Prudent too, that in the end it will be like to prove no other than the permitting of a Thief to come into the House, only to avoid the noise and trouble of his knocking at the the Door. And thus much for the first thing proposed; which was to consider and examine the Pretences alledged by Dissenters for our quitting or yielding up any of our Ecclesiastical Constitutions. I come to shew now the second thing, which is, what are naturally like to be the consequences of such a tame Resignation. In order to which I shall consider these two things.

1st, What the Temper and Dispositions of those Men who press so much for compliances, have usually been.

2dly, What the Effects and Consequences of such Compliances or Relaxations have been formerly. And 1st for the Temper of these Men. This certainly should be considered, and if it ought to give any force to their Demands, it ought to be extreamly peaceable and impartial. But are there any qualities incident to the Nature of Man, that these Persons are farther from? For did they treat the Governours of the Church with any other appellation, but that of Priests of *Baal*, Idolaters, Persecuting *Nimrods*, Formalists, Dumb Dogs, Proud Popish Prelates, Haters of God, and good Men, &c. I say, is not this their usual Dialect? And can we imagine that the Spirit of Christianity can suggest such Language and Expressions? Is it possible that where true Religion governs in the Heart, it should thus utter it self by the Mouth? And to shew yet further that this Temper can manifest it self by Actions as well as Words, did not these who now plead Conscience against Law, Persecute, Plunder, Kill, and Murder those who pleaded and followed Conscience according to Law? And can any one assure the Government that they will not under the same Circumstances do again the same Things?

Things? And for their Impartiality, did they ever grant Allowance or Toleration to any that were Dissenters from them? The *Presbyter* would grant none, and so much has he given the World under his own Hand, in those many clamorous Libels, and that Spawn of Pamphlets compos'd on that Subject. And when his younger Brother, the more able and more successful Sectarist of the two, had undermined him, and introduced Toleration, yet still Episcopacy as well as Popery stood expressly excepted from any benefit by it, or part in it. This is the Way and Temper of the Persons we have to deal with; and what Pity is it that the whole Government both Ecclesiastical and Civil should not lean to and bear with them? A Faction that will be sure to requite such a Favour once done them, by using it to the Reproach and Ruin of them that did it. And thus having given some short Account of the Temper and Disposition of these Men, the next Thing is to consider,

2dly, What the Effect and Consequences of such Compliances or Relaxations have been heretofore. And for this I appeal to the Judgment, Reading, and Experience of all, who have in any measure apply'd themselves

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to the Observation of Men and Things, whether they ever yet found that any who ever pressed for Indulgences and Forbearances, rested in them once granted, without proceeding any further? None ever yet did, but used them only as an Act and Instrument to get into Power, and make every Concession a Step to a farther Demand; since every Grant renders the Person to whom it is made, so much the more considerable, when he thinks fit to ask more. To grant, is to give ground; and such Persons ask some things only in order to their getting others without asking; for no other Encroachers upon, or Enemies to any Publick Constitution ask all at first; Sedition it self is modest in the dawn, and only Toleration may be Petitioned, where nothing less than Empire is design'd. The Nature of Man acts the same way, whether in Matters Civil or Ecclesiastical; and can we easily forget the Methods by which that violent Faction grew upon the Throne? Did not the Facility and too fatal Mercy of a late Prince, imbolden their Impudence, instead of satisfying their Desires? Was not every concession, every remission of his own Right, so far from allaying the fury of their greedy Appetites, that
like

like a Breakfast, it rather called up their Stomachs, and fitted them for a Dinner? Did not craving still grow upon granting, till nothing remained to be asked on one side, or given on the other, but the Life of the Owner? Thus it was with the State; and I would fain hear any solid Reason to prove that it will not happen alike to the Church: For how has the Papacy grown to that surprizing height, and assumed such an extravagant Power over Sovereign Princes, but by taking Advantages from their own Grants and Favours to that See? Which still took occasion from them to raise her self gradually to farther Pretences, till Courtesie quickly passed into Claim, and what was gotten by Petition, was held by Prerogative; so that at length Insolence grown big and bold with Success, knew no bounds, but trampled upon the Necks of Emperors, comptrolled the Scepter with the Crozier, and in the face of the World openly avowed a Superiority and Præminence over Crown'd Heads. Thus grew the Papacy, and by the same way will also grow other Sects, for there is a Papacy in every Sect or Faction, for they all design the same Height and Grandeur, tho' the Pope alone has had the fortune to compass it,

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And thus having shewn what have been the Effects of such Concessions heretofore, as well as described the Temper of the Persons who now press for them, I suppose it will not be very difficult for us to judge what are like to be the future Effects and Consequences of the same amongst our selves : Concerning which, I shall lay down this Assertion ; that what Effects and Consequences any thing had formerly, and what in its own Nature it tends to, and is apt to produce, it is infinitely Sottish and Irrational to imagine or suppose that it will not produce and cause in the World for the future ; and, I believe, hardly any Nation but ours, would suffer the same Cheat to be Trumpt upon it twice immediately together. Every Society in the World subsists in the strength of certain Laws, Customs, and received Usages uniting the several parts of it into one Body. And accordingly the parting with any of these Laws or Customs, is a real dissolution of the continuity, and consequently a partial destruction of the whole. It certainly shakes and weakens all the Fabrick, and weakness is but destruction begun, it tends to it, and naturally ends in it ; as every Disease of the Body will be Death, and no
Mischief

Mischief cures it self. But to pass by Arguments deduced from the general Nature of things, to the same made evident to sense in particular Instances, let us first of all suppose our Dissenters to be dealt with upon terms of Comprehension (as they call it) and took into the Communion of the Church, without submitting to the present Conditions of its Communion, or any necessary Obligation to obey the Established Rules of it, then these things must follow.

First, That Men shall come into the National Ministry full of their Covenanting Rebellious Principles, even keen upon their Spirits, and such as raised and carried on the late fatal War. Then it will also follow, that in the same Diocess, sometimes in the very same Town, some shall use the Surplice, and others not; each shall have their Parties Prosecuting one another with the bitterest Hatred and Animosities; some in the same Church, and at the same time shall receive the Sacrament kneeling, some standing, and others probably sitting; some shall make use of the Cross in Baptism, and others shall not only not use it themselves, but also inveigh and preach against those who do; some shall preach this Part, others that, and

some none at all. And where, as in Cathedrals, they cannot avoid the hearing of it read by others, they shall come into the Church when it is done, and stepping into the Pulpit, conceive a long crude extemporary Prayer, in reproach of all those excellent ones just offer'd up before. Nay, in the same Cathedral you shall see one Prebend in a Surplice, another in a long Coat or Tunick, and in performance of the Service, some standing up at the Creed, the Doxology, or the reading of the Gōspel, others sitting, and perhaps laughing and winking upon their fellow Schismaticks in contempt of those who Practice the decent Order of the Church: And from hence the Mischief shall pass to the People, dividing them into Parties and Factions, so that some shall come to the Assembly of the Saints, only to hear a Favorite Preacher, and for ever after be sure to be absent. I will give no countenance, says one, to the Formalist; nor will I, says another, with much better Reason, give ear to the Schismatick: all this while the Church is rent in pieces, and the common Enemy gratified. And these are some of the Effects of Comprehension; nor indeed could any other be expected from a Project so nearly allied

allied to fatal Forty One; so that I dare avow, that to bring in Comprehension, is in plain terms, nothing less than to Establish a Schism in the Church by Law, and settle a Plague in the bowels of it, that shall eat out the very Heart and Soul; so far consume the Vitals and Spirits of it, that in the compass of a very few years, it shall scarce have any visible Being or Subsistence, or so much as the Face of a National Church to shew.

But from Comprehension, let us pass to Toleration, that is, from a Plague within the Church, to a Plague round about it. And is it possible for the Church to continue sound, or indeed so much as to breath in either of these Cases? Toleration is the very pulling up the flood-gates, and breaking open the Fountains of the great Deep to pour in a Deluge of Wickedness, Heresy, and Blasphemy upon the Church. The Law of God commands Men to profess and practice the Christian Religion; the Law of Man in this Case will bear you out, though of none, or of one of your own Choice. Therefore an hundred different Religions at least, shall with a bare Face and a high Hand, bid defiance to the Christian; some of which perhaps,

perhaps, shall deny the Godhead of Christ, some the reality of his Manhood, some the Resurrection, and others the Torments of Hell. Some shall assert the Eternity of the World, and the like, and all this by Authentick allowance of Law. Upon this footing it shall be safe for every Broacher of new Heresy to gain as many Profelytes to it as he can; and there is none of them all, though never so absurd, impious, and blasphemous, but shall have Profelytes and Professors more or less; and what a large part of the Nation must this necessarily draw in? So that as Number and Novelty easily run down Truth and Paucity for a while, the Orthodox part of the Nation, the Church, will quickly be born down, and swallowed up. And since it is impossible for Government or Society to subsist where there is no Bond or Cement of Religion to hold it together, Confusion must needs follow. And since it is equally impossible for Confusion to last long, but that it must at last settle into something, that will, and must be Popery, infallibly, irresistibly; for the Church of *England* being once extinct, no other Sect or Church has any Bottom or Foundation, or indeed any tolerable Pretence to set up upon, but that.

And

And that this deduction of things is neither inconsequent, nor precarious, we may be assured from the Papists themselves; for did not their late Agent, who lost his Life in their Service, and whose Letters are so well known, tell us in one of them, that the way by which he intended to have *Popery brought in, was by Toleration; and that if an Act for a General Liberty of Conscience could be obtained, it would give the greatest Blow to the Protestant Religion here, that ever it received since its Birth.* Did he not also complain, *That all their Disappointments, Miseries and Hazards were owing to the fatal Revocation (as he calls it) of the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience?* And lastly, does he not affirm, *That all the Advantage they expected to make, was by the help of the Nonconformists, Presbyterians, Independents, and other Sects?* I purposely use his own words; and shall we not think that the Papists themselves knew what were the properest and most effectual Means for the prosecution of their own Interests? So that let all our Separatists and Dissenters know that they themselves are the Pope's Artificers, to carry on his Work, and do that for him, which he cannot do for

for himself. They are his Harbingers and Fore-runners to prepare and make plain a way for him to come amongst us. Thus they, even they, who are the most clamorous Declaimers against Popery, are the furthest and most industrious Factors for it. It is the weakening the Church of *England* by their Separation from it, and their Invectives against it, which gives *Rome* a Handle to attack it, thus weakened to her Hands, with Victory and Success. The Thief first breaks the Hedge of the Vineyard, to filch away perhaps but a few Clusters, but the Wild Boar enters the same Breach, and makes havock of all.

As for the Church of *England*, whatsoever Fate may attend it, this may, and must be said of it, that it is a Church which claims no independent Secular Power, but like a poor Orphan, exposed Naked and Friendless to the World, pretends to no other help, but the Goodness of God, the Piety of its Principles, and the Justice of its own Cause to maintain it. A Church not born into the World with Teeth and Talons like Popery, and Presbytery, but like a Lamb, innocent and defenceless, and silent, not only under the Shearer, but under the Butcher too; a
Church,

Church, which as it is obedient to the Civil Powers, without any treacherous Distinctions or Reserves, so would be glad to have the Countenance and Protection of that Power; and though it cannot be protected by it, is yet resolved to be peaceable and quiet under it; and while it parts with all, to hold fast its integrity. And if God should for the Nations unworthy and ungrateful usage of so excellent a Church, so pure, so peaceable a Religion, bereave us of it, by letting in the Tyranny and Superstition of another, it is pity but it should come in its full force and power. And then I hope that such as have betrayed and enslaved their Country, will consider that there is a Temporal as well as Ecclesiastical Interest concerned in the Case, that there are Lands to be Converted as well as Hereticks; and those who pretend they can with a words speaking change the substance of some things, can with as much ease alter the Properties of others. God's Will be done in all things; but if Popery ever comes in by *English* Hands, we need not doubt but it will fully pay the Score of those who bring it in.

3dly, I come now to the third and last thing proposed, which was to shew what influence

influence and efficacy a strict adherence to the Constitutions of the Church, and an absolute refusal to part with any of them, is like to have upon the Settlement of the Church, and the Purity of the Gospel amongst us; and for this I shall point out three ways by which it tends effectually to procure such a Settlement.

First, By being the Grand and most Sovereign Means to cause and preserve Unity in the Church. The *Psalmist* mentions this as one of the Noblest and Greatest Excellencies of the Jewish Church, *Psal. cxxii. ver. 3. That it was built as a City that is at Unity in it self.* Unity gives strength, and strength continuance. The Catholics Abroad frequently tell us, that if we could be United amongst our selves, we should be a formidable Church indeed; and for this Reason there was none they so mortally hated, as the late Renowned Archbishop and Martyr, whose whole Endeavour was to Establish a settled Uniformity in all the *British* Churches. For his Zeal and Activity in which Glorious Attempt, the Presbyterians cut him off according to the Papists hearts desire. Now a Resolution to keep all the Constitutions of the Church, the parts

of

of its Society, and Conditions of its Communion entire, without lopping any of them, must needs unite all the Ministers and Members of it, while it engages them (as the Apostle so passionately Exhorts his *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 1. 10.) *to speak all the same thing*; but if any one is indulged in the omission of the least thing enjoined, they cannot be said *to speak all the same thing*. In which Case, besides the deformity of the thing it self, that where the Worship is the same, the manner of performing it should be so different; This difference of Practice will also certainly produce an irreconcilable Division of Minds, since such diversity cannot be imagined to proceed from any other thing than an Opinion that one Man understands and does his Duty after a better and more Spiritual manner than another, and consequently has the start of his Neighbour or Fellow Minister, either in Point of Judgment, or Devotion, in neither of which are Men to allow Precedency, especially when it comes once to be contested. Unity without Uniformity, is like Essence without Existence, a mere Word, and a Notion, and no where to be found in Nature.

2dly,

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2dly, A strict adherence to the Constitutions of the Church, is a direct way to settle it, by begetting in her Enemies themselves an Opinion of the goodness and requiteness of those ways, for which they see the Government and Ministry of the Church so concerned, that they can by no means be brought to recede from them. Let factious Persons pretend what they will outwardly, yet they cannot but Reason with themselves inwardly, that certainly there must be something more than ordinary in those things, that Men of Parts, Reason, and good Lives, so strenuously contend for, and so tenaciously adhere to. For it is not natural to suppose that serious Men will or can be resolute for Trifles, fight for Straws, and encounter the fiercest opposition for such things, as all the interests of Piety and Religion may be equally provided for, whether the Church retains or parts with them. This is unnatural, and impious; and on the other side, let none think the People will have any reverence for that, for which the Pastors of the Church themselves shew an indifference. And here let me mention a great, but sad Truth, not so fit to be spoke, as to be sigh'd out by every true Son and Lover of the Church,

Church, that the Wounds the Church of *England* now bleeds by, she has receiv'd in the House of her Friends, her false undermining Friends, and that Nonconformity, and a Separation from it, and a contempt of the excellent Constitution of it, have proceeded from nothing more, than from the partial, treacherous, half conformity of many of its own Ministers; the Surplice sometimes worn, and oftner laid aside; the Liturgy so read, as if they were ashamed of it; the Service so curtail'd, as if the People were to have but the Tenths of that, for which they paid their own Tenths; the Ecclesiastical Habit neglected, the Sacrament indecently Administred, the Furniture of the Altar abused, and the Table of the Lord Profaned. These and the like vile Passages have made many Nonconformists to the Church, by their conformity to their Minister. It was an Observaton of a Judicious Prelate, that of all the sorts of Enemies that the Church had, there were none so devilish and pernicious, and likely to prove so fatal to it, as the Conforming Puritan. It was a great Truth, and not long after ratified by dreadful Experience; for if you

would know what the Conforming Puritan is, He is one that Lives by the Altar, and turns his Back upon it; one that catches at the Preferments of the Church, but hates the Discipline and Orders of it. One that practices Conformity as Popery, takes Oaths and Tests with an inward abhorrence of what he does for the present, and a resolution to act quite contrary when Occasion serves. One who during his Conformity will be sure to be known by such a distinguishing Badge, as shall point him out to and secure his Credit with the Fanatical Brotherhood. One that still declines reading the Church Service himself, leaving the Work to Curates, and Readers, thereby to keep up an advantageous Interest with Thriving Seditious Tradesmen, and groaning, ignorant, but rich Widows; one that in the midst of Conformity thinks of a Turn, and is careful to behave himself as not to out-shoot his Home, but to stand right and fair, in case a Revolution should bring Fanaticism again into fashion, which it is more than possible he secretly wishes for.

These,

These, and the like, are the Principles that Act and Govern the Conforming Puritan; who in a word, is nothing else but Ambition, Avarice, and Hypocrisie, serving all the real Interests of Schism and Faction in the Churches Livery.

Now if there be any such here (as I hope there are none) however he may sooth up and flatter himself, yet when he hears of such and such of his Neighbours, Parishioners, or Acquaintance running to Coventicles, such and such turned Quakers, others fallen off to Popery; and lastly, when the noise of the dreadful National Disturbances and Dangers shall ring about his Ears, let him lay his Hand upon his Heart and say, ‘ It is I, that by conforming by
 ‘ halves, and by Treacherously prevarica-
 ‘ ting with my Duty, so solemnly Sworn
 ‘ to; I, that by bringing a Contempt upon
 ‘ the Service and Order of the purest and
 ‘ best Constituted Church in the World,
 ‘ flabbering over the one, and slighting
 ‘ the other, have scandalized and toss’d a
 ‘ stumbling-block before the Neighbour-
 p 2 ‘ hood,

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‘ hood, and have been the cause of this
 ‘ Man’s Faction, that Man’s Quakerism,
 ‘ the other’s Popery, and thereby have in
 ‘ my proportion contributed to those Con-
 ‘ vulsions, that now so terribly shake and
 threaten both Church and State. I say,
 let him take his share of this horrid guilt,
 for God and Man must lay it at his door;
 it is the genuine result of his Actions, it is
 his own, and will stick faster and closer to
 him, than to be thrown off by him like
 his Surplice.

III^{dly}, And lastly, a strict adherence to
 the Rules of the Church, without yielding
 to any abatement in favour of the Dissen-
 ters, is the way to Settle and Establish it,
 by possessing its Enemies with an awful
 esteem of the Conscience and Courage of
 the Governours and Ministers of it. For
 if the things under debate, be given up
 to the Adversary, it must be upon one of
 these two accounts; either

First, That the Persons, who thus yield
 them up, judge them unfit to be retained:
 or,

Secondly,

Secondly, That they find themselves not able to retain them. One or both of these of necessity must be implied in such a yieldance. In the first Case then our Dissenters will cry out, where has been the Conscience of our Church Governours for so many Years in imposing and insisting on those things, which they themselves now acknowledge and confess not fit to be insisted upon? And is not this at once to own all the Libellous Charges and Invectives which the Nonconformists have been so long pursuing our Church with? Is not this to fling Dirt upon the Government of it, ever since the Reformation? Nay, does not the same Dirt fall upon the very Reformers themselves, who first put our Church into that Order it is in at present, and died for it when they had done? Such therefore as are disposed to humour these Dissenters, by giving up any of the Constitutions of our Church, should do well to consider what and how much is imported by such an Act; and this they shall find to be no less than a tacit acknowledgment of the

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Truth and Justice of all those Pleas by which our Adversaries have been contending for such a Cession all along: The Truth is, it will do a great deal towards the removal of the Charge of SCHISM from their Doors to ours, by Representing the Grounds of their Separation from us, hitherto lawful at the least. For the whole State of the Matter between us lies in a very little compass; that either the Church of *England* enjoyns something unlawful as the Condition of her Communion, and then she is SCHISMATICAL; or there is nothing unlawful enjoyned by her, and then those that separate from her are SCHISMATICKS; and till they prove that the Church of *England* requires of such as Communicate with her, either the Belief of something False, or the Practice of something Impious, it is impossible to prove the unlawfulness of those things that she makes the Condition of her Communion, and consequently to free those that separate from the Charge of SCHISM.

Now

Now while this is the perswasion of the Governours of our Church concerning these things, the World cannot but look upon them in their unmoveable adherence to them, as acting like Men of Conscience, and which is next to it, like Men of Courage. The Reputation of which two qualities in our Bishops, will do more to the daunting the Churches Enemies, than all their Concessions can do to the Reconciling of them. Courage awes an Enemy, and backed with Conscience, confounds him. He that has Law on his Side, and resolves not to yield, takes the directest way to be yielded to. For where an Enemy sees Resolution, he supposes Strength; but to yield, is to confess Weakness, and consequently to embolden opposition. And I believe it will be one day found, that nothing has contributed more to make the Dissenting Nonconforming Party considerable, than their being thought so. It has been our Courting and Treating with them, that has made them stand upon their own Terms, instead of coming over to ours.

And here I shall shut up this Consideration with one Remark, and it is about the *Council of T R E N T*. The Design of which Council, in all the Princes that were so earnest for the calling it, was to humble and reduce the Power of the *PAPACY*; and great and fierce Opposition was made against it all along by the Prelates and Ambassadors of those Princes; but so far were they from prevailing, that the *PAPACY* weather'd out the Storm, and fixed it self deeper and stronger than ever it was before. But what Method did it take, thus to settle it self? Why in a Word, no other than a positive Resolution not to yield or part with any thing; not to give way either to the Importunity or plausible Exceptions, nor, which (is more) to the Power of those Princes. So that (as the Writer of the History of the Council observes) notwithstanding all those violent blusters and assaults made on every side against the Papal Power, yet in the End, the Patience and Resolution of the Legates overcame all.

Now

Now what may we gather from hence? Why surely this very naturally; that if Courage and Resolution should be of such force to support a bad Cause, it cannot be of less to maintain and carry on a good one; and if this could long prop up a rotten Building, that had no Foundation, why may it not only strengthen, but even perpetuate that which has so firm an one as the Church of *England* stands upon? And now, to sum up all, could *St. Paul* find it necessary to take such a Peremptory Course with those Erroneous Dissenters in the Church of *Galatia*, as not to give place to them, no not for an hour; and is it not more necessary for us, where the Pretences for Schism are less plausible, and the Persons perverted by it more numerous! Let us briefly lay together the Reasons and Arguments why we should deal with our Dissenters, as *St. Paul* did with those, not to give them place at all, because,

1st, By our yielding or giving Place to them, we have no rational ground to conclude

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clude we shall gain them, but rather encourage them to encroach upon us by farther Demands; since the Experience of all Governments have found concessions so far from quieting Dissenters, that they have only animated them to greater and fiercer Contentions.

2dly, By our yielding or giving place to them, we make the Established Laws (in which these Men can neither prove injustice, nor inexpedience,) submit to them, who in Duty, Reason and Conscience, are bound to obey those Laws.

3dly, By our yielding or giving place to them, we grant to those, who being themselves in Power, never thought it reasonable to grant the same to others, in the same Case.

4thly, By our yielding or giving place to them, we bring a pernicious incurable Evil into the Church, if it be by a Comprehension; or spread a fatal Contagion round about it, if it be by Toleration.

5thly,

5thly, By our yielding to these Men in a way of Comprehension, we bring those into the Church, who once destroy'd and pulled it down as Unlawful and Unchristian, and never yet renounced the Principles by which they did so; nor (is it to be feared) ever will.

6thly, By such a Comprehension we endeavour to satisfy those Persons, who could never yet agree among themselves about any one Thing or Constitution, in which they would all rest satisfied.

7thly, By Indulging them this way, we act partially, in gratifying one Sect, who can pretend to no Favour, but what others may as justly claim, who are not comprehended; and withal imprudently, in Indulging one Party, who will do us no good, to the exasperation of many more, who have a greater Power to do us hurt.

8thly, By such a Concession we Sacrifice the Constitutions of our Church to
the

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the Will and Humour of those, whom the Church has no need of, neither their Abilities, Parts, Piety or Interest, nor any thing else belonging to them considered.

9thly, And Lastly; By such a course we open the Mouths of the Romish Party against us; who will still be Reproaching us for going from their Church to a Constitution, that we our selves now think fit to relinquish, by altering her Discipline, and the Terms of her Communion; and may justly ask us where, and in what kind of Church or Constitution, we intend finally to fix.

These, among many more, are the Reasons why we contend, that our Dissenters are not to be given place to.

But after all this, may it not be asked, Whether it were not better to submit to the afore-mentioned Inconveniencies, rather than the Church should be utterly Ruined? To this I Answer, That the Case is fallaciously put, and supposes that
if

if these things were submitted to, the Church will not be Ruined, which I deny; and upon the foregoing Grounds affirm it to be much more probable that it will. To which I add, that of the two, it is much better that the Church should be run down by a rude violence overpowering it, than be given up by our own Act and Consent. For the first can only take away its Revenues, and Discourage or Suppress the publick Exercise of its Discipline, but cannot destroy its Constitutions, the latter does. The former will be our Calamity, but the latter being the effect of our own consent, will render us inexcusable to all, both our Friends and Enemies, and ourselves too; and in the midst of our Desolation leave us not so much as the Conscience of a good Cause to comfort us.

To Explain which by Instance: Suppose the Land over-run by a Foreign Invasion, yet still the Body of the Laws of *England* may be said to remain entire, though the Execution of them be
Super-

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Superfeded: But if they be Cancelled by Act of Parliament, they cease to be, or to be called any longer the Laws of *England*. In like manner, if our Church-Governours, and the Clergy concur not to the disannulling of the Canons, Rules and Orders of the Church, the Constitution of it will still remain, though the Condition of it be obscured by Persecution, and perhaps disabled from shewing it self in a National Body; just as it fared with it in the late Rebellion; and who knows, but if Force and Rapine should again bring it into the same Condition, the Goodness of God may again give it the like Resurrection? but if we Surrender it up our selves, to us it is dead, and past all Recovery.

And therefore what remains now, but that we implore the continued Protection of the Almighty upon a CHURCH, by such a Miracle restored to Us; and (all Things Considered) by as great a Miracle preserved hitherto amongst us, that he would defeat its Enemies, and encrease

crease its Friends ; and Settle it upon
such Foundations of Purity, Peace and
Order, that the Gates of Hell may not
prevail against it.



The



(I)

*The Certainty of a Judgment
after this Life.*

A

S E R M O N

Preached at

St. Mary's, Oxon.

2 COR. V. 10.

*We must all appear before the
Judgment Seat of Christ, that
every one may receive the
things done in his Body, ac-
cording to that he hath done,
whether it be good or bad.*



Besides Instruction and Exhortation, which have never been wanting (at least in this last Age) to those of this Church, there are but two ways or means more in the ordinary course of Divine Providence, by which the reasonable Creature

B

is

is to be wrought upon; I mean, by which Man is either to be taken off from the forbidden Evil, he is inclined to: or drawn to the commanded Good he is averse from: and those two are, the hope of a Reward for one, and the fear of Punishment for the other; that those who have neither Ingenuity, nor Gratitude, nor will be allured to Piety and Obedience by the Fruition of God's Mercies, may yet, out of a self Love at least, and Impatience of Suffering, be frightened from Disobedience and Prophaneness, by feeling of God's Judgments. And truly, if we of this Nation had been so ingenuous and well natured a People, as that the former of these (I mean God's Mercies) would have prevailed with us, we had long since been inwardly the best, as we were outwardly the happiest of all Nations. For never was there any People since the Creation of Mankind, that enjoyed for so long time together, so many of God's Mercies of all Kinds and Degrees, and that with so many aggravating Circumstances to improve and endear them to us, as we did, whilst for almost a Century together God courted us, and woo'd us (as it were) without interruption, or intermission, by Word and Deed, by Peace and Plenty, and by all
forts

forts both of Temporal and Spiritual Expressions of his Love, which were possible for a Creator to make to a Creature: So that what God said once to the Church and Nation of the *Jews*, he might have said unto us, not long since, *Isaiah v. 4. viz. What could I have done more unto my Vineyard?* What could I have done more in love and kindness to the Church of *England*, than I have done? Why should you be used kindly any more? you will revolt more, you will but abuse my Goodness, and weary my Patience, and turn my Grace into Wantonness, as much or more hereafter, than you have done already. And therefore God having, according to his usual Method, first, and so long try'd all fair means to win us, and keep us to him, and all in vain, most of us still growing the worse, the better we were used by him: He was compelled at last (after many Warnings and Threatnings to no purpose) he was compelled, I say, (for he delights not in the affliction of any Creature) to make use of his other, and that which is usually his most effectual way of working upon Man, I mean, the way of his Judgments: And that first by taking away all his Blessings, which we had so long and so unthankfully abused: And 2dly, by making us

feel, what we would not fear, the power and effects of his Wrath, which we had before so often and so long provoked and despised; so that the measure of the afflictions we lately suffered, though it will still fall short of the measure of our Sins, yet is it correspondent in many respects to the measure of that Happiness we formerly enjoyed; Our Peace being turned into War, our Plenty into Scarcity, our Health into Sickness, our Strength into Weakness, our Religion into Hypocrisie on the one side, and Prophaneness on the other; and we our selves, who before had nothing almost to wish for, had in those Times nothing almost that we could hope for, being then the Object of Scorn or Pity, who were before the Object of Envy and Admiration to all our Neighbouring Kingdoms. And now one would believe the dismal account of those Times, which our own Sins brought upon us, should have some good effect on our Lives and Conversations; one would think, I say, that if our Foreheads were not of Brass, our Necks Iron, and our Hearts Adamant, we should either have been bended or broken with these Sufferings; and that the bitterness of our Punishment would by this time have so far exceeded

ceeded the sweetness of our Sins, that we should willingly have quitted the one, upon condition we might have been (as certainly we should have been) delivered from the other. But alas! such is commonly either the blindness of our Minds, the hardness of our Hearts, or the searedness of our Consciences, or rather the Spiritual Lethargy (as I may so term it) of our Souls, that most of us Sleep in as great Security in the midst of all manner of Judgments, as *Jonas* did in the midst of that Storm which his own disobedience had raised. Or if perhaps we are awake with our Eyes, yet our Hearts, as *Nabal's* was, are dead within us. So that to all our other Miseries, this plague, which is the greatest any Man can have in this World, is added also; I mean, *that seeing we should not see, and hearing we should not hear, and understanding we should not perceive*; nay, that even *feeling we should not feel*, or at least not feel what most hurts us; or what indeed was, is, and will be the true and only Cause of our Sufferings. Whence it comes to pass, that very few of us are like *David*, the better, but many thousands of us, like *Abaz*, the worse, since we were afflicted; having like the Ground,

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often drank up both the former and latter Rain ; the former of God's Mercies, and the latter of his Judgments, and yet bring forth nothing but Bryars and Thorns ; nothing but Hypocrisie and Prophaneness ; and consequently must needs be (as the ground was) nigh unto Cursing, and I pray God our End be not burning. For to Men so heavily plagued, and yet for all that so incorrigibly Wicked, as many of us are, what remains *but* (as St. Paul tells us) *a fearful expectation of Judgment* ? And by Judgment he means not any Temporal or Worldly Judgment ; but the Conclusion, or rather Consummation of all our Miseries here, with Hell and Damnation it self hereafter. And indeed it is the fearful expectation of that future Judgment, or nothing, that must work upon obstinate Offenders. The Truth is, our Spiritual Lethargy is not curable, but by a Spiritual Feaver, and it must be the horreur of an awakened and affrighted Conscience, that must melt, and mollifie the hardness of our Hearts. And therefore have I made choice of this Argument to Discourse on, at this time, as being persuaded, that if any thing at all will humble us, it must be the apprehension of and meditation

tion on the last Judgment ; and this I hope, by God's blessing, may be effectual, in some measure, to this purpose : For surely no Man can be so fast asleep in his Sins, but the sounding of the last Trumpet in his Ears may startle him ; neither can any Man be running so fast, or so furiously in the broad way that leadeth to destruction, but the flashing of Hell fire in his face may put him to a stand. And therefore let all Profane Persons or Hypocrites, that live in any known Sin, or Evil course of Life, attend with fear and trembling to this most terrible, and yet most infallible Oracle of the great God. *For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.*

These words I shall not now consider, (as they may be) as matter of Consolation to the Righteous ; but only, upon this Occasion, handle them in the severer Sense, or that of terror only ; and from these words thus considered, I shall endeavour (waving all needless Criticisms.)

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1st, To Convince every Man's Conscience, that there shall be indeed such an Appearance, or such a General Tryal or Doom of all Mankind after this Life, as is here spoken of.

2^{dly}, I shall try to make clear to every one of our Understandings, what manner of Appearance, or Tryal this shall be, as also before whom, and in what form of Proceeding, together with the Issue, Effects and Consequences of it.

3^{dly}, and Lastly, I will by way of Application, do my best Endeavour to work upon every Man's Affections, by shewing you, how much all Men (of what Quality and Condition soever they are) especially the Wicked and Ungodly, are concerned in it; and consequently how much it imports all Men, especially such Men, to think upon it, and prepare for it, that by a timely Repentance they may prevent the woful Effects of it. To begin then with the

1st, Of these general Heads, in which I am to convince every Man's Conscience, that there shall be indeed such an Appearance, or such a general Tryal or Doom of all Mankind after this Life, as is here spoken of: neither let any Man think this purpose unnecessary,

or

or superfluous, as if it supposed a Doubt, where none was, by making a Question of a Principle; For though the affirmative of this Proposition (*viz.* that there shall be certainly such a Doom or Judgment after this Life) be, or ought to be, a Principle undeniable, indisputable, and consequently unquestionable, amongst such as are truly Christians; yet because, as St. Paul says of the Jews, *all are not Jews that are Jews outwardly*; so may I say too, that all are not Christians neither, that are so outwardly; and because many pretend to be of the Church, that hardly believe all the Articles of her Creed; lastly, because there are some amongst us, that do not only live, but talk, as if they thought there were no Accompt to be given of their Sayings or Doings after this Life; or at least as if they either doubted, or had forgotten this Truth: For the satisfaction of all, it is therefore expedient to rescue from disbelief and contempt this fundamental Article of our Creed, *viz.* *That Christ shall come again to judge both the Quick and the Dead.* For proof of this Proposition against such as deny it, I desire only this fair *Postulatum*, the acknowledgment of that Truth, which is ordinarily acquirable by the
Light

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Light of Nature her self, *viz.* That there is a God, or such a Power as made us, and observes our Actions; and granting this conclusion, I question not but to make it appear even to the most Prophane Persons, and that from the dictates of their own reason, together with such Notions as they have, or may have, of the Deity by the light of Nature it self, that there shall be a Tryal or Judgment of all Men after this Life, for the things that all, and every one of them have done here in the flesh, and that,

1st, Because it is very agreeable to the Nature of God.

2dly, Because it is also very consonant to the Nature of the Soul of Man.

3dly, Because it is necessary for the manifestation of the Divine Justice.

4thly, Because the Inequality and Disproportion between Actions and Events, Merits and Rewards, Mens Parts and their Fortunes here in this Life, doth seem to require and exact such a Judgment.

5thly, Because there is an in-bred notion, or natural instinct, and apprehension in all Men, that there will be such a Judgment.

And *1st*, The Truth of this Doctrine is very applicable to the Nature of God; for
what

what can be more agreeable to the Nature of the most pure and powerful Agent, than to draw and unite unto it self whatsoever is like it self, as likewise to separate and remove from it self whatsoever is unlike it self? Now what is like God, but that which is Good? and what unliker him than Evil? And what is it to unite the one to himself, but to Reward? or to separate and remove the other, but to Punish? And yet we see God neither Rewards all the Good, nor Punishes all the Wicked in this World; there must be therefore a time hereafter, when both the one and the other shall be performed, and that time is, what I call the last Judgment.

2dly, The Truth of this Doctrine is very agreeable to the Nature of the Soul of Man, because otherwise the chief Agent both in Good and Evil, should have little or no Reward for the one, and little or no Punishment for the other. For the principal or chief Agent in all our Actions (whether they be good or bad) is the Soul, the Body is but an Organized Instrument, or at most but an Accessary in either. And yet all Rewards and Punishments appointed for Good and Evil by Laws in this Life, are bodily and sensual, at least I am sure they are finite, and mortal, and
confe-

consequently no way suitable or proportionable to the spiritual, immaterial, and immortal nature of the Soul. That therefore the chief Agent or Principal in all Actions, may have its Reward or Punishment proportionable and adequate to its own Nature, it is necessary that at one time or other, there should be an inquisition and Judgment, whose effects whether good or bad, may be Spiritual and Everlasting. Now if a Judgment producing such effects cannot be here in this Life, it must therefore necessarily be in another hereafter.

3dly, It is not only requisite, but necessary, that there should be a Judgment after this Life for the manifestation of the divine Justice: For though whatsoever God doth is just, and that because God does it, yet does it not always appear to be so. Now God is not only just in himself, but will appear to be so to others, and will have his Justice confessed and acknowledged, at one time or other, by the Hearts and Consciences of all Men. And though the Creator is not obliged to account to the Creature, for the manner how, or the reason why, he doth any thing; yet if he will have the Creature convinced of a thing, that it is so or so, he must
needs

needs some way or other, or at some time or other, make it appear to the Creature that it is so ; and therefore I say for this reason it is necessary, that at some time or other there should be a general, a publick, and a formal Tryal, wherein the Actions of every particular Man should be discovered to all in general, both Angels and Men ; that so the Actions being compared with the issue, and the Merit balanced with the Reward, God *might* (as the Apostle says, *Rom. iii. v.*) *be justified when he judgeth*, whether he absolves or condemns, and that not only by those that stand by and are but the Hearers of it, but even by those themselves that are judged. One of the main ends therefore (as I humbly conceive,) why God hath appointed a Day to judge all the World, (as the Apostle speaks, *Acts xvii. 31.*) is, to give the whole World satisfaction, or to convince Men and Angels, whether they be good or bad, of the exact and precise integrity, and impartiality of the divine Justice in all, and every one of the acts and effects of it. And hence it is, that this general Doom is called in Scripture, *The Day of the Revelation of the Righteous Judgment of God* ; or the Day wherein God will reveal and make it appear, that

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that all his ways and all his judgments are Righteous : Though the very Being of a God implies Holiness, and Power, and consequently Justice, yet the Ways and Means God makes use of to shew that infinite Justice, are not always obvious ; though we know by his Nature it is impossible for him to be unjust, yet are there some things, in which though we search ever so diligently for the manner how they come to pass ; yet I am apt to believe them beyond the capacity of Human Nature, and the measure even of divine Revelation on this side the Grave ; for Example, *that for the offence of one, Condemnation came upon all Men*, or that all Men became liable to Eternal wrath, because one Man had eaten the forbidden fruit, is what we ought to deem exact Truth, as consonant to express Scripture ; that the Misery of all for the Sin of one would be a most just Punishment, if God should inflict it ; but then we may believe likewise, that the reasons of God's Justice in both these Particulars, are superiour to the comprehension of Mortality, and not now fathomable. The like may be said in regard of the punishment of finite and temporal Sin, with infinite and eternal Torment ; which though it be true, that

that it shall be so, and consequently just that it should be so; yet I believe it would perplex the wisest Man living to give a satisfactory Answer (according to our notions of Equity and Justice) how in Equity or Justice it can be so. And therefore in regard of these, and such other *duobus* or hard Truths as these are, it is, that St. Paul, (though bred at the feet of Gamaliel, and wrapt up into the third Heaven, and consequently knowing as much or more of God than ever Man did) cries out, as one o'rewhelmed in admiration and astonishment, *Rom. xi. 33. O ! the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out?* But at the Day of Judgment, the Reason and Equity even of these and of all other now seeming hard Sayings, shall be disclosed to us, that the righteousness of all God's ways, and the impartiality of his dealings with the Sons of Men, may be so clearly manifested to all, that the very Reprobates themselves shall be forced to see and acknowledge their own Damnation to be most just, both in regard to the duration and intenseness of it, having not so much as the comfort of an excuse, nor any thing to accuse or complain of,
but

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but their own folly and fault for their Destruction. And thus you see in the third place, the necessity of a Judgment after this Life, for the satisfaction of the World, for the conviction of the Wicked, and consequently for the full and perfect manifestation of the Divine Justice.

4thly, The strange disproportion and unsuitableness betwixt Actions and Events, Merits and Rewards, Mens Parts and their Fortune here in this Life, doth seem to exact as it were at the Hands of a righteous God, that there should be a day of an after-reckoning, to rectifie this, which is in appearance so great a disorder and confusion: And to put a real and a visible difference betwixt the Evil and the Good, the Holy and the Profane; for now there seems to be none at all, it being long since, the observation of one of the wisest of Men (*Ecclesiastes ix. 2.*) *That all things happen alike unto all; there is one event to the Righteous and to the Wicked, to the Clean, and to the Unclean, to him that Sacrificeth, and to him that Sacrificeth not; as is the Good, so is the Sinner, and he that Sweareth, as he that feareth an Oath.* Nay it were well, if it were no worse; but the same Wise Man tells

tells us, (*Eccles. viii. 14.*) *that there be just Men to whom it happens according to the work of the Wicked; and there be Wicked Men, to whom it happens according to the work of the Righteous: For a just Man* (says he *Eccles. vii. 15.*) *many times perisheth in his Righteousness, and a wicked Man many times prolongs his Life in his Wickedness.* The self-evident Truth of these Propositions cannot be questioned by any Man (though they were not in Holy Writ) that sees and observes the dispensation of good and bad things in this Life. To conclude, we see that Riches, Honour, Pleasure, and whatsoever the foolish World calls good, they are for the most part, and in the greatest measure the portion of the worst of Men; whereas Poverty, Pain, and Shame, and whatever else we usually term Evil, are for the most part, and in the highest degree the lot of the Righteous, *Dives* being a Type (as 'twere) of the one, and *Lazarus* of the other. There must therefore in all reason and equity be another Audit, or time of Accompt after this Life, to the end that, as *Abraham* said unto *Dives*, *those that have received good things in this Life, and been evil, may be tormented; and those*

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that have received evil things in this Life, and been good, may be comforted; For if in this Life only good Men had hope in Christ, they were (as the Apostle tells us 1 Cor. xv. 19.) of all Men most miserable. This Argument drawn from the seeming unequal distribution of things here below, I mean the calamity of Good Men, and the prosperity of bad Men in this Life, is urged by the Elder *Pliny*, and some few others of the Heathen Moralists, to prove the non-existence of a God: For if (say they) there be a God, he must needs be just and good; and if he be just and good, he would not, he could not suffer good Men to be unrewarded, and evil Men unpunished; much less could he, or would he endure that evil Men should thrive in and by their wicked Courses, and good Men fare the worse for their Goodness, as in common experience we see they do. And truly if my conclusion concerning the certainty of a Judgment to come after this Life, were not true, this Argument of theirs would shrewdly shake the first Article and Foundation of all our Creed, *viz.* the Being of a God. But supposing such a Judgment to come, wherein all good Men shall finally and fully be Rewarded, and all wicked Men finally
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and fully punished, we do at once vindicate the Power, the Wisdom, the Providence, the Justice, and consequently the very Being and Essence of God, from all Blasphemy and Contradiction, notwithstanding any disproportion or incongruity whatever, that is or seems to be between Actions and Events, Merits and Rewards, Mens Parts, and their Fortunes here in this Life. ¶ And this is the fourth reason, why granting there is a God, we must necessarily grant likewise, that there shall be a day of Judgment.

5thly, The last Reason I shall make use of, to necessitate the Evidence and enforce the Truth of the Doctrine of a future Judgment, is that in-born and in-bred notion and apprehension, which all Men have by nature, that there is such a thing, together with the general expectation of all Men, that there will be such a thing: And this Reason, how slight soever it may appear to others, to me it seems (what I hope I shall make it seem to you also) most effectual and convincing; for whatsoever it is that all Men think will be, without doubt it shall be, because whatsoever all Men agree in, is the voice of Nature it self, and consequently must be true: For the dictates of Nature are stronger than the Pro-

bats of Reason, I mean of Reason not abstracted, but as it is in us Mortals; and therefore of all other Arguments, that which is drawn from natural impression and instinct, is most forcible and concluding, and the knowledge arising from such impression or instinct, though it be not so full and perfect, yet it is more certain and infallible than any other Knowledge whatsoever, arising from a Man's own fallible Discourse and Reasoning. I confess indeed, that Knowledge, the produce of Instinct and natural impression only, is not so full, so perfect, nor perhaps so properly term'd Knowledge (because the word *scire* properly denotes *per causas scire*,) as that which is concluded by demonstration, or drawn from an evident connexion of one thing with another, or a consequence of one thing from another; because when a Man knows any thing by natural impression or instinct only, he knows not the reasons of what he knows; he knows $\delta\tau\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ that there is such a thing, but not $\delta\iota\omega\tau\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, why it is; no nor perhaps $\pi\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$, what it is; I mean not what it is in the exact or distinct nature of it neither; and yet for all that, this Knowledge is (as far as it reaches) more certain and infallible than any conclusion drawn from our own reasoning
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and discourse can be. *1st*, Because this inbred Notion, or this Knowledge which we have of any thing by natural impressi^on or instinct, is not (as all other human or acquired Knowledge is) a conclusion made by us from our own discourse and judgment, which is always fallible or subject unto error; but it is a conclusion made in us by Nature, or rather by the God of Nature himself, who can neither deceive, nor be deceived; and therefore whatsoever we know in this manner, must needs be certain.

2dly, Because if the knowledge we have by our instinct, were not certain or infallible, this received and as yet undoubted Maxim both in natural Philosophy and Divinity, *viz.* That God and Nature do nothing in vain, would not be true: For if that were not so indeed, which all Men in general, and every Man in particular is naturally inclined to believe to be so; then that natural impressi^on or instinct, whereby they are inclined to think so, should be planted in them to no purpose; the affirmation of which is not only a reproach in Nature, but a Blasphemy against God himself; because indeed, that which we call Nature, is but God's ordinary Method of working in, and by the Creature.

3dly, That the Knowledge, which is an effect of natural impression or instinct, is indeed certain and infallible, will easily and clearly appear, if we but consider those Creatures who have not the use of Reason, or of Instruction, of Revelation, of Tradition, or of any other means of Knowledge (excepting that of Sense) but this of instinct or natural impression only ; and yet we see, that those irrational Creatures have their knowledge more immediately, more certainly, and more infallibly, than any Mans deductions from his own discourse and reason. For instance, who amongst us is there that doth or can know his Enemy (after the clearest discovery he can make of him) so certainly, or avoid him so suddenly as the *Lark* doth the *Hobby* at the first sight ? What Sick Man, nay, what Phyician knows his own Disease, and the remedy for it so exactly, as the *Dog* knows his Vomit, and that which will procure it ? What Husbandman knows his Seasons more exactly, or observes them more duly or punctually than the *Stork*, the *Craue*, and the *Swallow* ? Lastly (pardon the lowness of the similitude) what Landlord, or what Tenant foresees the ruin of his own House so certainly, or avoids it so season-

seasonably, as the Vermin his Inmates? and yet the *Lark* never studied *Machiavel*; nor the Dog *Hippocrates*, neither were the *Stork*, the *Crane*, or the *Swallow*, ever taught by natural Philosophy to distinguish Seasons; nor the Vermin by judicial Astrology to foresee casual and contingent Events: But it has pleased the all-wise and gracious Creator, to supply the defects of reason in these poor helpless Animals, with a knowledge, which though it be not so large and perfect, yet it is more certain and infallible, especially in those things that are necessary for the preservation of their Existence and Species, than any knowledge attainable by Men, by disquisition or speculation, because (as I said before) it is a knowledge not gotten by, but infused in them by God and Nature, who cannot err; and such a knowledge as this (I mean for the kind of it) is that which all Men have of a Judgment to come, or of something to be suffered by evil doers after this Life; a Knowledge, I say, which is planted in them, and not learned by them, but originally in every Man, and universally in all Men; and whatsoever is so, must needs be taught them by God and Nature, and consequently cannot be erroneous

or uncertain. 'Tis true indeed, that some particular Men, or some particular sort or sect of Men may believe and maintain false and foolish Opinions, such as have neither solidity of Truth in them, nor reality of Object without them: But then such Opinions as these had their Creation and Production at first, from some one Mans fancy, and from thence derived by Education and Tradition, may afterwards infect many: And thus the Opinion and Practice of Idolatry, or the worship of more Gods than one, came into the World, and spread it self over most part of Mankind, for it was not so from the beginning. But the dictates and impressions of Nature do very much differ from Conceits or Imaginations of fancy, and from Traditional errors of Custom and Education; in the first place, because the dictates and impressions of Nature are not only general in most Men, but universal in all Men, whereas conceits of Fancy, and Traditional Errors of Custom or Education, flowing from thence, though they may be, and often are consented to, and believed by many, yet none of them ever were, or ever will be consented to, and believed by all. Thus were the Philosophers of old, and thus are the Christians

stians at this day divided into their several Sects and Heresies.

2dly, The Dictates and Impressions of Nature, as they are universally in all Men, so are they originally in every Man without Teaching. And hence it is that St. Paul tells us, *Rom. ii. 14. that the Gentiles that had not the Law*, (he means that were never taught the Law as the *Jews* were) had yet notwithstanding that very Law in regard to the fundamental notions of Piety, Justice, and Sobriety, written in all and every one of their Hearts by Nature it self, and together with the Law, by necessary consequence a belief and expectation of a Reward for Good, and punishment for Evil after this Life; as appears by their Consciences accusing and excusing them, even for those things which were not punishable or rewardable, nor perhaps discernable by any but themselves here in this World. Whence it follows, that those notions of Law and suggestions of Conscience (which St. Paul tells us, were in all the Gentiles without Teaching) must needs be dictates and impressions of a simple and uncorrupted Nature.

3dly, The dictates and impressions of Nature (*in quantum & quatenus*) or as far as they

they are meerly from Nature, receive neither addition nor diminution (as they may do either) from other Principles: as they are universally in all Men without exception, and originally in every Man without instruction, so are they equally and alike in all Men without distinction, in the *Gentile*, as well as in the *Jew*, in the *Barbarian* as well as in the *Greek*, in the *Pagan* as well as in the *Christian*, and in those that have no Learning, as well as in those that have; whereas Opinion arising from conceit of Fancy, and Knowledge which is the product of human Reason, and Faith it self which is an effect of, and assent to divine Revelation, are all of them stronger or weaker, more or less in their several subjects, according to the strength, measure, and working of the several Principles from whence they flow. And consequently they are none of them equal in all Men, nor any one of them equally at all times in those that have them: But the other natural impressive Knowledge is quite contrary; such a Knowledge as this is that apprehension which all Men have or would have (if their natural impressions were not defaced in them) of a Judgment to come, or of a Reward for the Good, and a Punishment for the Wicked after this Life:

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For never was there any good Man but hoped for it, or any wicked Man, but at some time or other was afraid of it. In a word, there was never in any Age in the World, either Nation in general, or any one Man in particular, that owned the Being of a God, but he acknowledged a Judgment to come also; although the Notion they perhaps had of it, was but in a confused and imperfect manner; as appears by those Elysian Fields or places of Rest and Happiness for the Good, and *Phlegethon* and *Cocytus*, those black and burning Lakes of Fire and Brimstone, the places of Torment for the Wicked after this Life; which the Poets or Heathen Divines speak of, as the general and received Opinion of all Mankind, together with *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Æacus*, which were to be the Judges; *Alecto*, *Megara* and *Tesiphone* the Fiends or Furies which were to be the Tormentors of the Damned. This I say was the general and the constant Doctrine and Opinion of the Heathen, which was registered, but not invented by the Poets; being indeed in substance the same, which we Christians are now taught more perfectly by Divine Revelation, but was always instilled by Nature it self, though more obscurely and im-

imperfectly, into all Mankind. Nay those very Men themselves, who both by their Words and Actions would make others believe that they believed no God, do many times shake and tremble upon the apprehension and expectation of some terrible thing or other that is to come ; so that whilst they deny a Judge with their Mouths, they acknowledge a Judgment in their Hearts. And indeed bad Men are not always so bold, as they would seem to be, nor so little afraid of God, as they would have the World think they are. For of all Men, these Atheists, that would be, whenever they are in any great extremity or danger, have the poorest, the basest, and the most dejected Spirits. Give me a Man of the coldest and softest Constitution, and let him be but innocent, and he shall look Death (I mean a present, an evident, a deliberate and an unavoidable Death) with more courage and bravery in the face, than a Man of the most fiery Temper, and most exalted Spirit, if he be a Villain, or guilty of any horrid or heinous Crime. And what is, or can be the reason of this, but that one is secure, and the other is afraid of some terrible thing after Death, which can be no other, but that general Doom or Judgment

we now speak of, the Harbinger or Fore-runner whereof hath taken up his Lodging in the Breasts and Bosoms of all Men: And that is Conscience, which hath always, (unless it be asleep, or seared as St. *Paul* calls it, with an hot Iron one of its Eyes upon Sin here, and the other upon Punishment hereafter; which whosoever tells me, he does not believe; he must pardon me if I tell him again, that I do not believe him; for it is impossible that those in-born Characters, that Hand-writing of God and Nature, I mean that innate impression or instinct, which all Men have of a future Reward or Punishment, should be utterly blotted out of any Man; forgotten perhaps, or not thought upon, or defaced it may be, but absolutely lost and annihilated it cannot be; and therefore if there be any Man afraid or loath to own this Truth, he betrays a secret belief of it by his Fears; or if he do not now, he will do so at some time or other hereafter. But against this which has been said, it may be objected, that if the belief of a Judgment to come were, as I affirm it to be, an effect of natural impression or instinct, then it would be universally equal in all, and consequently equal
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in every one of the same kind ; for we see (say they) that all *Larks* are equally afraid of the *Hobby*, and every particular *Lark*, as much at one time, as at another. Besides it is apparent, that all men do not equally believe this Truth ; nay, it is to be feared, that some men do not believe it at all ; and of those who do, some believe it at one time more, and less at another. And therefore that this belief of a Judgment to come (in whomsoever it is) is the effect of some other cause, and not of natural Impression or Instinct. To this Objection I answer, that it is true indeed, that all in-bred and in-born impressions or instincts, are universally and constantly equal in all particulars of the same kind ; and always continue to be so in those Creatures which are not capable of either infection from without, or corruption from within. And such are all living Creatures besides Man ; which neither sway the Rule of Nature, nor are swerved from it, but are always constantly and equally guided by it, as having no other Principle from without to corrupt or controul it. But with Men it is far otherwise, for in them those Notions of Nature that are born with them, may and do receive augmentation or diminution, alteration

ration or corruption from some other Principles either without us or within us. For instance, those in-born notions that there is a God, that there will be a Reward for those that live Well, and a Punishment for those that live Ill; and that we should do unto others, as we would have others do unto us, and the like, may and do receive augmentation from Divine Revelation, and from right Reason, and from a good, either religious or moral Education and Conversation; so that what was imprinted in us by Nature, may be, and is improved and confirmed in us by other Principles; and therefore I will not deny, but a Christian may have a more constant and more confirmed, and more perfect knowledge both of a God, and of a Judgment to come, and of that fundamental Equity which ought to be betwixt one Man and another, than he that hath no knowledge of these and the like things, but by the light of nature only. And by the same reason one Christian may have a more constant, distinct, and perfect knowledge of the same Truths, than another Christian, according as the one may be more or less enlightned by those higher Principles than the other, or may make a better
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or a worse use of them. Again, as the knowledge we have by instinct may be augmented and improved, confirmed and perfected; so it may be lessened and weakened, defaced and corrupted; nay, and for a time so obscured, as it may seem both to our selves and others to be quite extinguished, and that either by our own depraved Reason, together with our perverse Will and Affections from within us, or by an Evil Education, or a worse Conversation from without us, which many times infuse such Opinions (both concerning God and our selves) into us, as are quite contrary to, and destructive of our first Notions; and yet because they are more suitable to our perverse Will and Affections, they are frequently received and defended by our depraved Reason, against the light of Nature it self. As a Man may easily perceive, that will but read attentively the first and second Chapters of *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, where the Apostle having laid it down for an undoubted conclusion, That the Law (he means the moral Law) or the fundamental notions of our Duty towards God and Man, was written by Nature in the Heart of all the *Gentiles*, and has proved it to be so, because
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their Consciences did justifie them, when they did well, and accuse them, when they did ill; yet he affirms likewise, that this very Law (though written in their Hearts by Nature) was so obscured and almost quite erased from their Judgment by their more perverse Wills and Affections, that as they worshipped Beasts for God, so they made Beasts of themselves, and behaved themselves worse than Beasts to one another. This Behaviour does no way invalidate the forcibleness of this Argument, but rather intimates a deep stupefaction, by a long inveterate Habit of ill, fallen on their Minds. So that to conclude this Point, there may be, and is a natural knowledge in all Men, of a future Judgment, as well as the Existence of a God; tho' in some perhaps the impression of either of these Truths is not always active or operative; for we see that some Men are grown to such a habit of Sensuality, or Brutality, that they do nothing almost according to Reason; and yet I hope, that no Man will from thence conclude, that such Men are not reasonable Creatures, or that they have no such natural Principle, or Faculty as Reason at all in them. And let this suffice for our conviction in point of

D Judgment

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Judgment or Conscience, that there shall be a day of Judgment after this Life : which was my first General. I am therefore now in the

2d Place, to enquire (as far as the light of Divine Revelation will enable me) what manner of thing this Judgment or last Doom will be. Know then, that the great Appearance, Tryal, or Judgment which my Text speaks of, is the General or grand Assize of the whole World, held in a Heavenly High Court of Justice by our Saviour, to hear, examine, and finally determine, of all thoughts, words, and actions, that ever were thought, spoken, or committed, together with the causes, occasions, circumstances and consequences of all and every one of them, and accordingly to pronounce an irrevocable Sentence either of Absolution, or Condemnation upon all Men. In which Solemn Description you have

1st, The Judge.

2dly, The Parties to be Judged.

3dly, The Things controverted, or for what they shall be Judged.

4thly, The Form of this Tryal, or the manner of Proceeding that shall be held in it.

5thly,

5thly, And lastly, the Sentence it self, with the issue and execution of it.

1st, Then for the Judge at this General and grand Assize, he must, as my Text tells you, be Christ; *For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ*; God and Man, in his two Capacities of Godhead and Manhood connected; for as he was our Redeemer, so he is to be our Judge in both his Natures: He must in the first place be our Judge as he is God, because none but God has Jurisdiction over all the Parties that are to be Tried at that Judgment, which are Angels, as well as Men, Princes as well as Subjects, and the greatest Peers as well as the meanest Peasants. Now though one Creature may have Jurisdiction over another, nay over many other Creatures, yet no one has or can have Authority over all his Fellows, this being a Royalty or Prerogative of the Creator himself only. Again, Christ must be Judge, as he is God, because none but Omniscience can discern the main and principal Things that shall be there called in question, which are not Words and Actions only, but the Hearts, Consciences, Thoughts, Purposes, and Intentions of all Men. Lastly, Christ must be Judge, as he is God, be-

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cause none but God can give life and execution to the Sentence, as pronounced then, whether of Absolution or Condemnation; for none else can render the Creature infinitely and eternally Happy, which is the execution of one of the Sentences; or on the other side, render the other part of the Sentence of infinite and everlasting misery effectual, but God only: And therefore the Judge at that Tryal must necessarily be God, and consequently this very Act or Office of Christ, the Execution of Justice in this Judgment, is an irrefragable Argument of his Godhead. But though God only is, or can be our Judge at that great Tribunal, yet nevertheless he must not be God only, but Man likewise; and that first in regard of the Judgment it self, to manifest the Equity, the Indiscriminateness, and the Impartiality of it; which might be perhaps doubted of, if the Judge were either God or Man only. For if he were only God, he would be the Party offended, and if only Man, the Person offending: And a Judgment, though really never so just, may be, or seem to be, suspected to be otherwise, when either of the Parties concerned is Judge; whereas Christ, being God as well as Man, and Man as well

well as God, must needs be acknowledged to be an equal, an indifferent and impartial Judge betwixt God and Man, as being equally Allied unto them both. Again, Christ must be Judge as he is Man, in regard to the Parties tryable at that Day, whether they be Sheep, or Goats; I mean, whether they be the Just that are to be Absolved, or the Wicked that are to be Condemned. For among the Just there is none so good, but he might fairly be afraid to appear at that Judgment, if the same Person were not our Saviour, who is to be our Judge, who if he brought not to the Bench with him the pity and compassion of a Man, as well as the power and justice of a God; nay if God at that Tryal did not look upon us through himself, as Man, and beholding the Merits in his own Person, impute them to us, not one of all Mankind could be saved. He is to be Judge as Man therefore, that the Just to be absolved, may not fear to appear before him: And he must be Judge as Man too, that the condemned Wicked may have no cause of Complaint, how severe usage soever they find from him. For how can even the damned themselves murmur, repine, or except against the Judgment, where

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the Tryal (as I shall shew you presently) is by the evidence of their own Conscience, and their Condemnation pronounced by that Judge, who laid down his Life to save Sinners, and consequently cannot possibly be imagined to condemn any, but such as would not be saved by him. Lastly, Christ must be Judge, as he is Man, in regard of all Mankind, or in regard of Humanity it self; I mean for the dignifying and exalting of human Nature: That as the Nature of Man was debased, and brought down to the lowest degree of meanness in the Person of our Saviour, in his Birth, Life, and at his Death; so the same Nature, in the same Person, might be exalted and raised up to so high a degree of Power, Majesty, and Honour, that not only Men that had despised him, and Devils that had tempted him, but even the blessed and glorious Angels themselves, whose Comfort and Assistance he once stood in need of, should fall down, and tremble at his presence. And thus much for the Judge at this awful Tryal.

The 2^d Thing considerable in the description I gave you of this Judgment, are the Parties to be Judged; and those briefly (to speak nothing of the evil Angels who are
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then also to receive their full and final doom) are all Persons of all sorts, Qualities, Conditions, and Professions, Young and Old, Rich and Poor, High and Low, one with another. For at this Bar Princes have no Prerogatives, the Nobles have no Privileges, nor the Clergy Exemptions and Immunities, nor the Lawyer any more favour than his Client; the Rich shall neither be regarded for their Baggs, or the Poor pitied for his Poverty; but all indifferently shall have the same Judge, and the same Tryal, the same Evidence, and the same Witness; and if their Cafes be alike (how different soever their Persons or Estates may be here) their Fate shall there be the same: And thus much for the Parties to be Judged.

The next thing is, *3dly*, The Matters that shall be questioned at that Tryal; and those are not our Actions only, but our Words also, and not only our Word, but our Thoughts too, and not only our Thoughts, but our very Inclinations or Dispositions themselves likewise; together with the Place, Time, Occasion, Intention, and End, for which every thing was done, thought, or spoken, and that from the first birth or in-

stant of time, to the very last periodical Minute of it.

And then 4^{thly}, For the manner of Proceeding, there will be no occasion for examination of Witnesses, or reading Depositions; there will be no *allegata* or *probata*; for every Man shall be Indicted and Arraigned, Cast or Acquitted, Condemned or Absolved by the Testimony of his own Conscience, which shall readily, though never so unwillingly, assent to whatever the Judge shall charge it with, whether it be good or evil; whether it be for him, or against him. The Book of Life shall be opened, wherein is Registered and Recorded whatever Good or Evil at any time from the beginning of the World till the end of it, has been done, spoken, consented to, or imagined by any or all Mankind; and what is more wonderful, this is written in such a Character, that all Men (of what Nation or Language soever) must needs understand, and acknowledge the truth of it; this Book being nothing else but the counter-part (as it were) of every Man's Conscience, which God keeps by him as an undeniable Evidence to convince all Men with at the last Judgment.

In which I shall now consider the 5th and last thing proposed to this Description, viz. The Sentence it self (whether of Absolution, or Condemnation) the form of both which is judicially set down by Christ himself (*Matth. xxv. 34.*) That of Absolution in these Terms, *Come ye Blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World*; but of this Sentence the present occasion of our Humiliation will not permit me to speak, as too Triumphant a Topick for this Day. That other Sentence therefore (the sad but seasonable object of our present Meditation) you may find in the 41st Verse of the same Chapter, in these words, *Depart ye Cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* A dismal and woful Sentence, my Beloved, a Sentence carrying Hell and Horror in the very sound of it; whilst every Syllable does, as it were, stab the Soul, and every word bring with it a new death (if I may so say without a Paradox) to those that can never die. Have we any of us ever been present, when the Sentence but of a bodily death has been pronounced upon a Prisoner at the Bar; and may not we observe what horror and amazement does instantly seize

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seize the poor Wretch, what a deadly paleness covers his face, what a ghastly distraction rises in his Countenance, what a faltering in his Speech, what a trembling in his Joints, what a cold sweat over his whole Body? and yet all these were but weak and faint expressions of what his Soul suffered. If any of us, who have seen and observed all this, had but once felt in our selves, what we have seen in others; then perhaps we might guess, and yet but guess, at the fear and trembling, the horror and amazement, which will not only seize and lay hold upon, but devour and swallow up the Soul of Man, upon the hearing of that dreadful Knell, that direful and fatal Sentence, which will at once both pronounce, and make him unspeakably, unconceivably, irrecoverably, and everlastingly miserable. But why do I compare things together so infinitely disproportionate, as Temporal with Eternal, Corporeal with Spiritual, the death of the Body alone, with the death of Soul and Body too, or the Benches of Men with the Tribunal of God? No (my beloved) if the Sentence of that Judge were like those of ours here, it would be well for the greatest part of Mankind; for then perhaps it might
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either be appealed from, or reversed ; or if neither, yet at worst it might be endured, without their being utterly and for ever undone by it. Here on Earth perhaps Appeals may be lodged, and carried from one Place to another, from an inferior to a superior Authority. But at the last Day, to whom shall we appeal from God our Sovereign and Supreme Judge ? Or what Higher Court of Judicature is there than that of Heaven ?

Lastly, When our Advocate himself Condemns us, who will be so compassionate, or dare be so impudent as to plead for us ? When therefore this Sentence is once pronounced, there is no more Hope left either of Reprieve, or Pardon, of Ease, or Intermission, of Alteration or Ending : But (which is the misery of miseries) that Torment which is intolerable for a moment, must last for ever. A word that must vex and rack the Understanding, puzzle and weary the Imagination, distract and confound all the Powers and Faculties of the Soul. What pain is there, or can there be so little, as Man could be content on any consideration to endure for ever ? What Man amongst us is there so Poor, or so Covetous, as that he would be hired ; or so stout or so patient (if he

he were hired) that he could endure but the taking of one Tooth in extremity, if he hoped for no end of his pain? And yet the Toothach, the Gout, the Stone, and the Strangury, the Rack and the Wheel, with the rest of our natural Diseases or inventions of cruel ingenuity, are but as so many flea-bitings, or inconsiderable trifles, compared with the Torments of the Damned. All Pains here are either tolerable, or not durable, either we may suffer them, or at least shall sink under them. But there, there I say, in Hell is acuteness of sense, with acuteness of torment, extremity of pain, and extremity of feeling, insupportable anguish, and yet ability to bear it, where the fire always burns, and yet consumes not, where fewel is still devoured, and yet it waists not; where if a Man had a world of Earth, he would give it all for one drop of Water, and yet the whole Ocean would not cool him; where there is perpetual darkness, without rest, continual Night void of sleep: And (to conclude what never shall be concluded indeed) where there is always distraction without madness, dying without death, misery without pity, and wishing without hope. Such things as these can hardly be thought

thought of, much less dwelt on without the greatest horror. If St. *Paul*, a Prisoner at the Bar, discoursing on this Argument, could make an insulting *Felix* tremble; how much greater fear ought they to have, who living in any known breach of God's Commands, or open sin unrepented of, are therefore much more concerned in that future Judgment than *Felix* could be? He you know was a Heathen, but we are Christians, and you may be assured the least Christian Sinner is greater than the greatest among the Heathens; because they can sin but against the Light of Nature, and their own Reason only; whereas wicked Christians sin not only against the Light of Nature and Reason, but against Divine Revelation in the known Precepts of the Law, and those plainer ones of the Gospel also; at once most desperately flighting the terrible Threats of the one, and most profanely despising the gracious Offers of the other. So that if the Honour either of God's Mercy, or of his Justice, be dear unto him, it must necessarily be easier, not only for *Felix*, that never heard of Christ, but even for *Pontius Pilate* himself, who condemn'd him, than it will be for any wicked impenitent Christian at the Day
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of Judgment. And therefore for application of all unto our selves, let us now (according to my 3^d and last General) endeavour to be informed how far we our selves are like to be concerned in the future Judgment, taken (as I have taken it all this while) in the worst sense, and consequently how we ought to think of, and prepare for it. Well then, if there be indeed such a Judgment to come, as I hope I have fairly proved, we may from thence conclude, 1st, That the greatest Pretenders to Wisdom in this World, are not the Wisest Men; I mean those great *Achitophels*, those subtil Steersmen of States and Kingdoms, those deep Politicians, and Civil Oracles (as it were) of Courts and Councils, who think this Doctrine of a future Judgment, as well as most of the other Mysteries of the Christian Religion, to be indeed nothing else but Reasons of State, or the Politick Devices and Inventions of the Wiser sort of Men (they mean such as they themselves are) to keep the weaker Judgments and stronger Passions in the greatest awe, and so to make them the more pliable and conformable to the Laws and Commands of Men, So that the end of all Religion is (as these Political Christians suppose) terminated

nated in this Life; and that whatsoever foolish Book-worms may talk of after this Life, whether it be the Resurrection of the Body, or the appearance of both Body and Soul in another place, with the eternal Existence of them both in extremity either of pain or pleasure, with whatsoever else our Christian Faith obliges us to believe, in order to another Life, they are but so many Bug-bears to fright Children withal. Or at best (in those Mens Opinion) they are but the vain speculations of idle and curious Wits, or the issue and product of melancholy Brains, and fitter for the exercise of Mens disputative Faculties in the Schools, than for the object of a Wise Man's hopes or fears in any of his actions, as having indeed nothing of solid Truth or Reality in them. But how miserably mistaken, and shamefully deceived will these Giant-Wits, these mighty *Solomons* (as they are now thought) then find themselves to be, when awakened by the sudden, the general, and fearful Alarm of the last Trumpet out of that sleep, which they well hoped would have been endless, they shall see themselves (to their inexpressible horror and amazement) first summoned and haled to Judgment, and afterwards hurried and dragg'd away

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away by stranger and subtler Spirits than themselves, to Torment and Execution; where their senses will quickly convince their intellects, that what they formerly supposed but a *Chimera*, an idle Speculation, or at best but a Politick Invention, is indeed a sad, a serious, and severe Truth. Neither will it be the least part of these Men's Hell, that they shall eternally reproach themselves with Folly, after so exalted an opinion of their own Wisdom. To proceed, again, in the 2^d Place; all other Hypocrites, as well as Atheistical Statesmen, are Fools also; I say all other Hypocrites, because indeed these Christian Politicians, or Politick Christians I just now mentioned, are a sort of Hypocrites, *viz.* Moral or Civil Hypocrites (as I may so call them) because they seem to believe what they do not, and enjoyn others what they care not for themselves; I mean the belief of Christian Doctrines, and Duties, and that for a Moral and Civil Respect or End only, to wit, in order to the preservation of publick Peace and Welfare in the State; which certainly were a very good End, if it were not their only End in so doing. But the other Hypocrites I now speak of, are Religious Hypocrites, and not so called, because

cause they are more Religious than the other, but because they are such Hypocrites as to pretend Religion for their main End, though indeed they intend and use it only as a Means to advance and compass, not the publick, but their own particular Designs by it (whether they be honest, or dishonest) and that often to the prejudice of the publick Interest both of Church and State; Nay sometimes (as in our late intestine Broils,) to the apparent ruin or hazard of them both. And therefore this kind of Hypocrites, as they are much more wicked and mischievous here in this World; so (supposing a future Reckoning) they will be far more miserable in another State than those Hypocrites or Atheists lately mentioned. Indeed, if God was as easily to be deceived as Men are, with false specious shews and pretences; or if these Hypocrites could hope to work upon God, as they once did upon the Populace, by false Words, and flattering Insinuations; or, lastly, if they could make God (as they would fain have made the King) believe, that the demolishing of his Palaces, the robbing him of his Revenues, the persecuting of his Ministers, by their false interpreting and misapplying of his Word, nay and by

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driving himself (as much as in them lies) out of his own Kingdom, the Church; If they can, I say, when they come to appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, make him believe that these and all other things they have done of the like kind, were all of them done in order to his Service, and with an intention to make him a much more glorious God than he was before; then let them be thought as Wise, as they would seem Religious: Nay let them name their own Places and Preferments in Heaven, as they did here on Earth in the time of their Usurpation; for certainly no Preferment can hardly be adequate to such transcendent Spirits and Undertakings. And yet all this would be no difficult Matter for them to bring to pass; if either in the (1st) place they might always be owned as the Highest and Supreme Judiciary; that is, if they might be hereafter, as they will needs be here, their own Judges: Or (2^{dly},) if they may not be their own Judges, or absolved by their own Votes, yet if they might at least be but Tryed (as they think it very equitable they should be) by their own Ordinances, that is, by Laws and Rules of their own compofure, without and contrary to the consent of the Supreme Legisla-

Legislator: Or Lastly, if at that great Affize, they can neither be their own Judges, nor be Tryed by their own Ordinances, yet at least, if they may but have their own Preachers or Advocates (who pleaded so powerfully for them to the People) to Plead for them likewise before God; and withal if those Advocates of theirs, may but be allowed to interpret that Sentence which shall then be pronounced, with the same assurance and falsity as they have interpreted others of Holy Writ; neither they themselves, nor any of their Party will run any great hazard. For then (I mean if their Scribes and Pharisees, if their Doctors of the Law, and Interpreters of the Gospel may be believed) the meaning of *Go ye Cursed* shall be the contrary, *Come ye Blessed*, and on the contrary the Blessing shall tacitly imply only a Curse; as if that which was spoken to those on the left hand, was meant to those on the right; and the words directed to those on the right, intended for those on the left hand; it being the usual interpretation of those Doctors to make the sense of God's Word (how opposite soever to the letter of it) to be always in favour of themselves, and to condemn their Foes; who because they

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are Enemies to the good Old Cause, must needs be esteemed God's also. But whether this Supposition be true or false (with all other Controversies betwixt us and them) will be fully, finally, and impartially determined, when they and we shall appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ; *For we shall all appear* (says my Text) that is, we shall not only be there, but be present every one of us in his proper shape and likeness: No disguizing of Persons, no palliating of Actions, no concealing of Purposes, no dissembling of Intentions at all there; *For we must all appear* (says my Text) γυμνοὶ καὶ τετραχηλισμένοι (as the same Apostle says in another place) naked and bare-faced, and laid, as 'twere, flat upon our backs, not before a close, or a grand Committee, of ignorant and partial Men, who may deceive, and be deceived, but before Christ, the most exact Searcher, and infallible Discerner of all Hearts; and before Christ attended on by all the Holy Angels and blessed Saints, amongst whom, to their greater Confusion Hypocrites shall perhaps see some sitting at Christ's right hand, whom they have formerly condemned and executed as Malignants and Delinquents. And amongst these,
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I doubt not but they will see him, whom they have pierced (I mean not Christ God, but God's Christ, or God's Anointed) that blessed Saint and Martyr their own Sovereign, whom they so inhumanly and barbarously murdered; and whom though they would not look upon as an object either of Reverence or Pity here, they shall, though unwillingly, behold him as an object of horror and confusion there: an object, which next unto Hell it self, shall be most dreadful and terrible unto them, whilst his wounds bleeding afresh at the sight of his Murtherers, shall at once upbraid, accuse, and condemn them. Howsoever, I am sure, they must appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ; That Christ, who is truth it self, and in whose mouth there was no guile, and therefore he cannot chuse but abhor an Hypocrite beyond all Sinners: That Christ, who would not have his own life defended against the unjust violence of the lawful Magistrate, and therefore cannot endure a rebellious Hypocrite of all Hypocrites, nor a rebel upon a false pretence of Religion, of all Rebels. Lastly, before that Christ that knows well enough that his Name, and his Worship, his Word and his Sacraments, Prayer, Fasting,

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and the rest of his Sacred Ordinances were only made a Stale by the Hypocrites of those times, to conceal, to make way for, and to compass their own covetous, malicious, or ambitious Ends: And consequently whilst they bragged of setting him upon his Throne, they placed a reed in his hand instead of a Scepter, and crowned him in jest, whilst they crucified him in earnest; and what is this, but to mock Christ himself as well as the World here? And therefore they themselves shall be mocked by Christ before all the World hereafter: For as they have most unjustly made many innocent and upright Men spectacles to Men and Angels here in this life, so shall they, unless a repentance followed, be made a spectacle to Men and Angels in the life to come, being first put to open shame by having their mask of piety pluckt off, and consequently all the rottenness of their hearts and villany of their Designs, made evident and apparent, and afterwards a double portion of the most exquisite torments that Hell can afford, shall be given to them; one moiety for their sins, and another for their Hypocrisy; one for their great Presumption in their daring to mock God, and another for their far greater impudence in pre-

pretending to honour and serve, whilst they did but mock him. This, I say, shall be the portion of the Hypocrite at the Day of Judgment, which appears to be a very bitter one by that of our Saviour (*Matth. xxiv. v. 51.*) where it seems, a greater punishment cannot be threatned or given than a portion with the Hypocrite, and yet even from thence we may collect, that some Sinners who are not Hypocrites, yet are equally bad, otherwise they would not have their Portion assigned with them; and those are such, who are so far from Hypocrisy, that they do not, nor will not so much as pretend to be religious; I mean those that call themselves Christians, and yet are worse than the worst of Pagans, such as Sin with a high hand, those impudently presumptuous and prophane persons, that are so far from concealing or disguising any of their lewd courses or practices, though never so sinful and shameful, that they not only own and avow them, but value themselves for them, as if to be a witty scoffer, a bold blasphemer, a strong drinker, a notorious Fornicator or Adulterer, and a desperate contemner of all divine and human Laws, were the necessary ingredients towards the Composition of a Gallant Man, and consequently

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quently as if it were impossible to be a Gallant Man and a Good Christian; nay, as if it were not possible to be a Gallant Man, and to be a Man, that is a rational Creature, without being metamorphosed and transformed into a Swine, a Goat, or some such brutish Creature, by giving up a Man's self to all manner of beastly lusts, with as much liberty, and as little shame or remorse, as beasts themselves do: As if God had given Men reason, not to govern and restrain, but to stir up and be subservient to their sensual appetite; and what is all this, but to do what's in ones power to unman himself, and turn a Rebel, not against Divinity and Religion, but against Humanity and Nature it self also? And now though this, one would think, were as bad as could be, yet it were to be wished, that some were not worse; by not worse I mean, that they would be content and satisfied to walk alone by themselves in the ways and works of darkness, without making it their business (as we see they do) to draw as many others as they can, down into Hell with them, like the companions of *Ulysses*, who having drunk of *Circe's* enchanted Cup themselves, and thereby become Beasts, afterwards made use of all
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the Beastly Inducements they could to prove the preference of that to Man's Life, and so perswade their other Fellows to drink of the same Cup, and partake of a like Fate with them. And what is this, but to play the Devil's Part, or to be the Prince of Darknes's Agents or Factors here in this World? For as the Devil himself is called *ὁ σαλῶν*, or the Tempter, because it is his Business, Delight, and Study to Tempt others; so all that are Tempters of others into Sin, may, by the same Reason, be called Devils; I am sure they do the Devil's Work, and shall have (unless they repent) the Devil's Wages for it. For if those, that turn other Men unto Righteousness (as the Prophet says) shine like Stars, or have a much greater degree of Glory in Heaven, than other Good Men, who have not been so Zealous or Industrious to Convert others; by the same Reason those who tempt other Men into Sin, shall have a much greater degree of Torment in Hell than other wicked Men, who have not been so malicious or contagious in corrupting and infecting those who have conversed with them; which is an effect of the most Diabolical Spirit, that any Man, whilst on this side the Grave, can possibly be possessed

possessed or endued withal. But whence, I wonder, is this Courage against God? Or what is it makes some Men so bold and confident, not only by being as wicked as they can themselves, but by endeavouring to make others their Profelytes? Is it because they never think of any thing at all beyond the present? If so, they are no wiser than the brute Beasts. Or is it because they think of nothing beyond Death? And of Death too, perhaps in the most gentle and comfortable Notion; I mean, as Death is a Rest from all Labours, a Cure of all Diseases, an Asylum from all Enemies, and generally, as it is an end of all Worldly Troubles, and a Deliverance from all Earthly Calamities and Vexations. Truly I must confess, to have such a Notion of Death as this is, is no pleasant Meditation, especially when we are ready to sink under any severe Difficulties or Troubles. But alas (my beloved Brethren) Death is to be thought upon by Christians, not only as it is the end of one Life, but as the commencement of another, which for better or worse must last for Ever. Nay, Death is to be thought upon by wicked Christians, not as the beginning of another Life, but as the
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entrance or passage unto another Death; where Men shall be dead to all Pleasure, to all Joy, to all Comfort, to all Hope; this shall be their deathless Life, or a lifeless Death; they shall be however alive to Pain, alive to Shame and Horror of Conscience, and (which is worst of all) living to despair of ever attaining any end or ease of those Torments. And now I would fain know, whether any the most profligate Person has Courage enough to think of such a Death as this, without Fear, or the Confidence to expect it, without Trembling? Let us therefore consider it, and you especially, whoever you are, must consider it seriously that forget God, or at least forget him, as he is a Judge. Consider it, you that by your Drunkenness, or Uncleaness, or by any other Profane Course of Life do seem, as 'twere, to have made a Covenant with Death and Hell, and think perhaps to have the more favourable Usage from the Prince of Darkness hereafter, the more boldly you have avowed your selves to be his Servants in advancing of his Kingdom here; You that have done what you can to prevent your Judge, by pronouncing Sentence upon your selves, and Damning your selves

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selves as often as you Swear, which is almost as often as you speak (for such is the Custom of common Swearers) think with your selves, I beseech you, whether your Courage, how great soever it be, will serve you, and your Strength (how much soever it be) will support you, and for Ever too in such a Place, and such a Condition as I have imperfectly described unto you; *Can any of you dwell, and dwell for ever in everlasting burnings?* And yet *this shall be the dwelling, this shall be the portion of the Hypocrite*, says the Prophet (*Isa. xxxiii. v. 14.*) And the like Portion with the Hypocrite, shall the Profane Person participate. For though the way of the Profane and the Hypocrite seem contrary, yet they shall meet, and their End shall be the same, and though they deride and laugh at one another here, yet they shall both of them weep and gnash their Teeth together hereafter. For the Hypocrite shall be as Towe, and the Profane Person as Flax, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them. God of his infinite Goodness give them both Grace to foresee in time, and by Repentance to prevent this their so great Danger; for certainly. for
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any Man to despise the Divine Justice, with the Endless and Intolerable Effects of it, is not Courage, but Madness. And therefore to Conclude all in a word, the best Method we can take, is to Judge our selves, that we may not be Judged of the Lord; and because that Day (as the Lord himself tells us) shall come as a Thief in the Night, suddenly, and unexpectedly, let us always be sure to have Oyl in our Lamps, that is, Faith and Repentance in our Hearts, Justice and Charity in our Actions; and whatever else we have to do, let it be one part of our daily Business seriously to Meditate

1st, Upon the Vanity and Shortness of our Lives; and

2^{dly}, Upon the Certainty and Uncertainty of our Deaths.

3^{dly}, Upon the great Exactness and Severity of the Judgment to come after Death; and

4^{thly}, And Lastly, upon the Eternity and Immutability of every Man's Condition in the

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the other World, whether it be Good or Evil. And then, I hope, by God's Grace Sanctifying these our Endeavours, our Condition there will be such, as we shall have no cause to desire either an End or an Alteration of it.

Which GOD of his Mercy grant us all, through the Merits of his SON, and the Happy Conduct of his HOLY SPIRIT. *Amen.*





A True Copy of the last
WILL and TESTAMENT
OF THE
Reverend Dr. *SOUTH*;
Drawn up by Himself.



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THE LAST
WILL and TESTAMENT
OF THE
Reverend Dr. *SOUTH*;

In the Name of God Amen. I *Robert South*, Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*, and Doctor in Divinity, being well in Health, and of good and perfect Memory, God be thanked for the same; do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following.

First, I recommend my Soul to my most merciful God, my Body to the Earth, there to be Buried in such decent manner, neither Sumptuous, nor Sordid, as my Executrix hereafter to be named shall think fit. And

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as touching such Worldly Estate as God hath blessed me with, I give and dispose of the same as followeth.

Imprimis, I Give and Bequeath to *Robert South* Gent. my Nephew by the half Blood, all my Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments descended to me by and from my Father, and now Rented by *Elizabeth Brookes*, Widow of *John Brookes* Husbandman, lately deceased, at Seventy five Pounds *per Annum*, situate and being in *Whittley*, commonly called the Hamlets of *Whittley*, in the Parish of *St. Giles* in *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*; to have and to hold the same to him, and his Heirs for Ever.

Provided always, and upon Condition nevertheless that the said *Robert South* my Nephew, and his Heirs do and shall within two Years next after my decease, Pay, or cause to be Paid unto *Mrs. Elizabeth Kirkland*, and to *Mrs. Rachael Partridge* my Neices by the half Blood, and Sisters to the said *Robert South*, the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds a-piece, of lawful Money of *Great Britain*, together with Interest for the same from my Decease, at the Rate of Five Pounds *per Centum per Annum*. And also to Pay or cause to be Paid to *Mrs. Rachael*

Michael Taylor, only Daughter of Mrs. *Jane Taylor*, one of my Three Nieces, by the half Blood, and Sister to the said *Robert South* my Nephew, the further Sum of Three Hundred Pounds of like lawful Money, together with Interest for the same, from my Decease, at the Rate of Five Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*. Upon this further Condition nevertheless, that he the said *Robert South* my Nephew, or his Heirs, do or shall within two Years, or three at most, next after my Decease, pay, or cause to be paid to Mrs. *Elizabeth Morris*, and to Mrs. *Elizabeth Terry*, now, or late in *Antegua*, in the *West-Indies*; and both of them Daughters, or Grand-Daughters to Mrs. *Joan Hall*, several Years since Deceased, and one of my Sisters by the half Blood, or to the Children of the said *Elizabeth Morris*, and *Elizabeth Terry* respectively, in case those their Mothers should not be living at the time of my decease, the Sum of Four Hundred Pounds of like lawful Money, together with Interest for the same, from the time of my Decease, at the rate of Five Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, in manner following; that is to say, unto the said *Elizabeth Morris*, if at that time Living, or if then Dead, to such

of her Children as shall be then living ; or in Default of such Children, to her Executors or Administrators, the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds, together with the Yearly Interest thereof, at Five Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, as before expressed, and likewise the remaining Sum of One Hundred Pounds, with the like Interest for the same, to the said *Elizabeth Terry*, though she never yet took the least notice of me, by Letter, or otherwise, if she shall be Living at the time of my Decease ; or if then Dead, to such of her Children as shall be then living at the time of it ; or in Default of such Children, to her Executors or Administrators. And I do hereby charge all my said Lands, Messuages, Tenements, and Hereditaments in *Whittle*y aforesaid, descended to me from my Father, with the payment of the said several Sums of Three Hundred Pounds, and Three Hundred Pounds, and Three Hundred Pounds, and Four Hundred Pounds, and the Interest thereof, as aforesaid, declared, and these are the Conditions on which I give my said Estate in *Whittle*y in *Berks*, &c. to my Nephew *Robert South* above-mentioned, and upon no other Conditions or Terms whatsoever.

Item,

Item, I give and bequeath to Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my House-keeper, and Widow or Relict of Mr. *Edward Hammond* Clerk, deceased, all my Messuages or Tenements situate and being in and near *Holyday-Yard*, in *London*, which I hold by Lease from the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's* in *London* aforesaid, to hold the same unto the said Mrs. *Margaret Hammond*, her Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, for and during the Residue of the Term of Years which I shall have to come therein at the time of my Death; though I could, and do most heartily wish, that at, or before her Death, she would give and settle the same to some Charitable Use for ever: And this to the great Honour of Almighty God, the Benefit of the Publick, to my own great Satisfaction, the good of her own Soul, and the just Reputation of us to all Posterity.

Item, I Give and Bequeath to the said Mrs. *Margaret Hammond*, all my Lands, Messuages, Tenements, or Hereditaments, in or Bordering upon the Parish of *Cave-sham*, alias *Caversham* in the County of *Oxon*; And also all my Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, being Copy-hold Estate of Inheritance in the Mannor of

Cantlors, alias *Cantlow*, in *Kentish-Town* in the County of *Middlesex*, to have and to hold the said Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, both in *Cavesham*, alias *Caversham*, and in *Kentish-Town* aforefaid, unto the said Mrs. *Margaret Hammond*, and her Assigns, during her natural Life, without impeachment of, or for any manner of Waste whatsoever, done or committed during her time of Widowhood or single Life only, which from my heart I desire she would continue in to her Lives end, and that for her own sake and interest, as well as my satisfaction, for that otherwise neither she nor I can tell what havock an Husband will make upon the Premises, nor, what if there be no so such Check upon him, can prevent his making it; and since my chief Design here is Charity, immediately after the Death of Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* aforefaid, my House-keeper, I Give and Bequeath my two fore-mentioned Estates, viz. one in *Kentish-Town*, in the County of *Middlesex*, and the other in *Cavesham*, alias *Caversham*, in the County of *Oxford* aforefaid, to the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and Collegiate Church of Christ in *Oxon*, and to their Successors after them for ever;

ever; Nevertheless in Trust only and for the Uses following; Namely, That out of the Revenue of the said two Estates, all Repairs, Taxes, and other necessary Duties and Expences chargeable upon or incident to the same, shall by the said Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, and their Successors for ever, be still from time to time paid off and Discharged. And further upon Trust also, that after a due performance of this, the said Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church*, and their Successors for ever, shall likewise from time to time pay out of the Rents, Issues and Profits of the Premises, to and amongst certain Vicars, Curates, and Incumbents for the time being, of the several Vicaridges and Places herein after-mentioned, Ten Pounds a piece Yearly for ever.

Viz. Ten Pounds Yearly to the Vicar of *Southstoke*, *cum Capellis* in the County of *Oxon*, for the time being.

Item, The like Sum of Ten Pounds Yearly to the Vicar of *Norton Broyn*, alias *Brise Norton*, in the County of *Oxon*, for the time being.

Item, To the Vicar of *East Garston* in the County of *Berks*, for the time being, the like Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds for ever.

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Item, To the Vicar of *Nethersoll* in the County of *Gloucester*, for the time being, the like Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds for ever.

Item, To the Vicar of *Ardington* in the County of *Berks* for the time being, the like Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds for ever.

Item, To the Vicar of *Cerleton* in the County of *Wilts* for the time being, the like Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds for ever.

Item, to the Vicar of *Little Compton*, in the County of *Oxon* for the time being, the like Sum of Ten Pounds Yearly for ever.

Item, To the Curate of *Drayton* in the same County of *Oxon* for the time being, the like Sum of Ten Pounds Yearly for ever.

Item, To the Curate of *South Littleton* in the County of *Worcester* for the time being, the like Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds for ever.

And to the Curate of *Offenham* in the same County of *Worcester*, for the time being, the like Sum of Ten Pounds Yearly for ever.

And to the Curate of *Stratton Audley* in the County of *Oxon*, for the time being, Ten Pounds Yearly for ever.

And Lastly, to the Vicar or Curate of *Dorchester* in the said County of *Oxon*, and
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seven Miles from the City of *Oxon* for the time being, the like Sum of Ten Pounds Yearly for ever. To all and every one of which the said Persons I give and bequeath the forementioned Yearly Sum of Ten Pounds, free from all Deductions and Abatements for or by reason of Taxes or any other Duties chargeable upon the Premises whatsoever, to be Paid them by the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church*, and their Successors for ever, at or upon the two most usual Feasts; that is to say, on the Feast of the *Annunciation* of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel, by even and equal Portions; and the first Payment thereof to be accordingly made on the first of the said Festivals which shall next and immediately follow the decease of my Executrix. And my Will also is, that in case the Yearly Rents and Profits arising out of the Premises so given to the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church*, and their Successors, should in any Year happen to fall short of satisfying the said Sum of Ten Pounds to each of the said Vicars, Curates, and Incumbents aforesaid for the time being; then and so often as this shall happen, there shall be an equal and proportionable Abatement or Deduction

Deduction made out of every one of the said Sallaries or Allowances. But if again, on the other side, it should in any following Year or Years so fall out (as no doubt it will) that there shall be more arising out of the Yearly Rents, Incomes and Profits of the said Premises so given to the Dean and Chapter of *Christ Church Oxon*, and their Successors, than what is sufficient to answer and satisfy the said Yearly Stipends and Annuities, then my Will is, that all Deficiencies so happening in any former Year or Years, shall be made up and supplied to the said Vicars and Incumbents out of such overplus. And further my Will by all means is, that if any of the Vicars, Curates, or Incumbents receiving this my charitable Benefaction, shall be convicted of, at the mouth of two or more Witnesses, or generally noted for, though not formally convicted thereof by Witnesses, any thing grossly Immoral, as Whoredom, Fornication, Drunkenness, or common Swearing, or any thing scandalous or against the Act of Uniformity, or Rule of the Church of *England*, such as are Preaching in, or going to any Conventicle, or Meeting of Dissenters from the Church of *England* for Religious Worship; that
then,

then, and in every such and the like Case, the Stipend, Annuity or Pension allotted or given to such Vicar, Curate, or Incumbent, shall forthwith cease, and the Person or Persons so Guilty, be utterly deprived of the same for ever. And that it be from time to time paid to such Vicars, Curates, or Incumbents as shall be so qualified as in the Premises has been expressed, and shall be Personally known to the Dean himself, or to any one or more of the Prebendaries of *Christ-Church Oxon* aforesaid for the time being, to be of a Sober Unblameable Life, and of strict Conformity to the Church of *England*, as now by Law established. Finally, my positive Will is, that the said Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church Oxon*, and their Successors, do and shall after the Yearly Payments made to the Twelve Vicars, Curates, or Incumbents before-mentioned, pay all the overplus of the Money remaining of the Yearly Rents and Profits of those my two Estates bequeathed to the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church Oxon*, and their Successors, to six poor Scholars for ever, Twenty Nobles a piece, by even and equal Portions on the two fore-mentioned Festivals; and that the said Poor Scholars be
all

all of them of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, but bred and brought up in *Westminster-School*, commonly called the Kings, or Queen's School, there. And those likewise to be of the sole Choice and Nomination of the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church*, and their Successors for ever. And my Will and Mind is, that when the said Pensions or Annuities shall have been paid, both to the Ministers, and Poor Scholars before mentioned, and all Taxes and Duties chargeable upon the Premises cleared of whatsoever Money shall remain out of the Rents and Profits of my said two Estates, shall be wholly applied towards the finishing of the New Buildings now carried on in *Christ-Church* and College in *Oxon* aforesaid. And now whereas I have bestowed a considerable part of my Estate in Erecting and Endowing at my sole Charge and Expence, a School in the Parish of *Islip* in the County of *Oxon*, and by a particular Deed vested the same in the Dean and Chapter of *St. Peter's Church* in *Westminster*; but yet nevertheless, for the sole Support, Maintenance and Benefit of the said School, I do by these Presents fully ratifie and confirm the said Deed of Settlement in the said Dean and Chapter of *St. Peter* in

in *Westminster*, and their Successors for ever, to, and for, all the Trusts Uses and Conditions therein mentioned and contained, but to proceed. And I do herein in the first place, give and bequeath to the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, and to their Successors for ever, the full sum of Five Hundred Pounds of good and lawful Money of *Great Britain*, but so that the same be laid out by them in purchasing the perpetual Advowson of a good Living for one of the Students of that College successively, who shall profess the study of Divinity. And my Will is, that the said sum be paid them by my Executrix, within five Years after my Decease. In the next place, I give also to the Dean and Chapter of the Church of *St. Asaph* &c. in *North Wales*, the sum of One Hundred Pounds of like lawful Money of *Great Britain*, but still in Trust and upon Condition only that the said sum be laid out by them for the Apprenticing out Twenty poor Youths born in the Parish of *Llanchaia-dar* in *Mochnant* aforesaid, to good honest Trades, by Five Pounds a piece. And my Will is, that the said sum of One Hundred Pounds be paid them by my Executrix, when she shall have received of *Mr. Robert Lloyd*

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Lloyd of Aston in Salop, my Tenant, for the Tythes of *Llanchaiadar*, all that shall be due to me from him on that accompt, and not otherwise, nor before the full Receipt thereof.

Item, I give and bequeath the sum of One Hundred Pounds of the like lawful Money of *Great Britain*, to the Chancellor, Doctors and Masters of Arts of the University of *Oxon* for the Use and Benefit of the publick Library of that Place, and the buying into it such Modern Authors of principal Note, as the Vice-Chancellor, and Head Library-Keeper for the time being, shall judge both most useful and most wanting there. Likewise I give the sum of Two Hundred Pounds of the like lawful currant Money of *Great Britain*, to Twenty poor ejected Clergymen, *Non-jurors*, and those at the sole choice and Nomination of Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my Executrix, to be distributed to them by Ten Pounds a piece.

Item, I give the like sum of Two Hundred Pounds of the like currant Money as aforesaid, to Forty poor Ministers Widows, and those also of the sole choice and nomination of my afore-mentioned Executrix,

to

to be distributed to them by Five Pounds a-piece; Willing withal and hereby requiring, that both the said Clergymen, and Clergymens Widows now mentioned, be respectively paid the several sums here allotted them, within the term of two Years at the utmost, after my decease. Also I give and bequeath to the Governors of the Grey-coat Hospital here in *Tutthill-Fields Westminster*, the sum of One Hundred Pounds of the like lawful Money as before said, for, and towards the maintenance of the poor Children Taught and Bred up there. And here to look a little back again upon my Affairs in *Christ-Church*; Whereas I have for several Years last past, at a constant Yearly Salary employed one Mr. *Thomas Rookes* Verger of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon* in managing my Accompts, and some other of my Concerns in, and about *Oxon*, I give him the sum of Twenty Guineas to be delivered to him by my Executrix, after he has paid in to her Hands all Moneys which shall have been owing from him to me, and given back all Papers and Keys belonging to me, and cleared all Accompts between him and me, to the full satisfaction of my said Executrix, and not before, nor otherwise. And as for some other

other Charities to the Poor, I give as followeth.

Imprimis, I Give and Bequeath One Hundred Pounds of good and lawful Money of *Great Britain*, to Fifty poor House-keepers or Widows, those of Clergymen only excepted, as having been before in this my Will provided for, within the City of *Westminster*, to be distributed to them by Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my House-keeper, and Executrix, by Forty Shillings a piece; and the said Housekeepers and Widows to be all of them at the sole choice and nomination of the said Mrs. *Margaret Hammond*. But still such as shall be truly conformable to our Church as now by Law Established, and diligent attenders upon the Service and Worship thereof, either at *Westminster-Abbey*, which I most like, or in some Parish Church thereabouts; and this I would have done as speedily as it can with any tolerable convenience be after my Funeral. Also to the Poor of the Parish of *Cavesham*, alias *Caversham* in *Oxfordshire*, where I have dwelt for many Years last past, I give Ten Pounds, having been all along very Liberal to that place, and the Poor thereof, during all the time I spent there. And to the Poor of
the

the Town and Parish of *Islip* in the County of *Oxford* also, to which I have been a constant and (as they themselves very well know) no ordinary Benefactor. I give Five Pounds to the Poor of the Parish of *Hackney* in the County of *Middlesex*, near *London*, where I was Born and Baptized. I give Five Pounds likewise to the Poor of the place where I shall happen to be Buried; (in case it proves to be none of those three places just now mentioned, I also give Five Pounds, but not otherwise). And all these sums I Will to be distributed by my Executrix accordingly; and as soon as with what possible expedition it can. And I give moreover to my Servant *Clement Apthorp* of *Bedfordshire*, the sum of Fifty pounds, Provided he be actually in my Service at the time of my Decease. And I give also to him and the rest of my Domestick Servants continuing to serve me to that time, to each of them a Suit of Mourning, but so that the said Mourning be bought and provided for them only by my Executrix Mrs. *Anne Hammond*, and not otherwise. And not to

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forget

forget here, one who had lived in my Service formerly, I give to Mrs. *Grace Day*, and to her Son *John Day* an Apprentice in *London*, the sum of Five Pounds a-piece in remembrance of me. And now after all, for the better and surer performance of all these foregoing Particulars, I do hereby constitute and appoint my Housekeeper Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* sole Executrix of this my Last Will and Testament; she having served me for now above these Five and Thirty Years, and that most faithfully and discreetly, having all along taken the greatest care of my Health that could be, and under God, more than once preserved my Life, and Rescued me from imminent and certain Death; for which considerations, as greater could not possibly be; having made her, as here I do, my sole Executrix, I do most heartily by these Presents give and bequeath to her as such, my whole and remaining Estate in Money, Plate, Rings, Jewels, and all my Household-stuff, Books, Leases and Writings of all sorts, with an Assignment from Mr. *Gilbert Whitehall* Citizen of *London*, to me upon the Exchequer;

chequer; and in a word, all my Goods and Chattels whatsoever not otherwise disposed of, or to be disposed of and given away by this my Will and Testament, or by any Codicil annexed or to be annexed to the same hereafter. In Witness whereof, and of all the Premises in this my Last Will and Testament contained, and by which I utterly disannul and make void all former Wills at any time before made by me, I do here set my Hand and Seal to the same, on this Thirtieth Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, and of Her present Majesty's Reign the Thirteenth, *Robert South*. Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said Doctor *Robert South*, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us who have subscribed our Names in the presence of him the said Doctor *South*; the following Words, (*viz.*) the Word (What) in page the Third, Line the Thirteenth, the word (should be;) in page the fifth, line the sixteenth, the word (Back,) in page the eighth, line the last, the Words (those of Clergy-men,) in page the ninth, line the fifth,

forget here, one who had lived in my Service formerly, I give to Mrs. *Grace Day*, and to her Son *John Day* an Apprentice in *London*, the sum of Five Pounds a-piece in remembrance of me. And now after all, for the better and surer performance of all these foregoing Particulars, I do hereby constitute and appoint my Housekeeper Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* sole Executrix of this my Last Will and Testament; she having served me for now above these Five and Thirty Years, and that most faithfully and discreetly, having all along taken the greatest care of my Health that could be, and under God, more than once preserved my Life, and Rescued me from imminent and certain Death; for which considerations, as greater could not possibly be; having made her, as here I do, my sole Executrix, I do most heartily by these Presents give and bequeath to her as such, my whole and remaining Estate in Money, Plate, Rings, Jewels, and all my Household-stuff, Books, Leases and Writings of all sorts, with an Assignment from Mr. *Gilbert Whitehall* Citizen of *London*, to me upon the Exchequer;

chequer; and in a word, all my Goods and Chattels whatsoever not otherwise disposed of, or to be disposed of and given away by this my Will and Testament, or by any Codicil annexed or to be annexed to the same hereafter. In Witness whereof, and of all the Premises in this my Last Will and Testament contained, and by which I utterly disannul and make void all former Wills at any time before made by me, I do here set my Hand and Seal to the same, on this Thirtieth Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, and of Her present Majesty's Reign the Thirteenth, *Robert South*. Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said Doctor *Robert South*, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us who have subscribed our Names in the presence of him the said Doctor *South*; the following Words, (*viz.*) the Word (What) in page the Third, Line the Thirteenth, the word (should be;) in page the fifth, line the sixteenth, the word (Back,) in page the eighth, line the last, the Words (those of Clergymen,) in page the ninth, line the fifth,

the word (particulars;) in Page the tenth, line the eighth, all of them in the places Noted being first interlined; *James Eales, Ricard Nurse, John Walworth.*

A CODICIL to be Annexed to my Last WILL, and accounted as part of it.

WHEREAS I *Robert South* Doctor in Divinity, have at several Times past, paid unto Mr. *William Vernon* of *Westminster* Gentleman, the Sum of Six Hundred and Seventeen Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Ten Pence, or thereabouts; for securing the Repayment whereof with Interest, the said *William Vernon* by one or more Deeds of Assignment, did Assign unto Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* of *Westminster*, Widow, in Trust for me, a Judgment obtained by him against Dame *Frances Atkins* Widow, deceased, for the sum of Nine Hundred and seventy seven Pounds Debt, or some such sum, besides Cost of Suit. Now I do give and bequeath all the Moneys which now are or shall become due to me upon the said Judgment and
Security,

Security, unto Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my Executrix, to her sole only and proper use and behoof for ever. But nevertheless upon this Condition, that the said Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my Executrix, do and shall within three, or at most five Years after she shall have received the same, Pay unto the Dean and Chapter of *Christ Church* in *Oxford* for the time being, the sum of Five Hundred Pounds for and towards their carrying on the Buildings of that Church and College- And whereas moreover I *Robert South* Doctor in Divinity, on the seventh Day of *April*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Fourteen, Purchased of one *Henry Clements* Bookseller in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* in *London*, Three Volumes of Doctor *Robert South's* Sermons, each of them containing Twelve Sermons a piece, and entituled severally, the first, second, and third Volumes of the same, for one hundred and seven Pounds ten shillings of lawful Money of *Great Britain*, paid down to the said *Henry Clements* for that real or pretended Right to the said Volumes or Copies, as having Bought them as he said,

of one Sir *Thomas Gery* Knight, and Dame *Elizabeth* his Wife, Widow of *Thomas Bennet* Bookseller, her first Husband, and accordingly claiming them as his sole Executrix, the said *Bennet* himself having likewise formerly pleaded a Right to the same, by Virtue of a Purchase of them from Doctor *Robert South* the Author of them; which yet he the said Doctor very much questions; I do hereby by these Presents give and bequeath the aforesaid Volumes and Copies of my Sermons so Purchased by me, as has been expressed, to Mrs. *Margaret Hammond* my Housekeeper and Executrix, to have and to hold, and in full Right to dispose of the same, according to her own Will and Pleasure for ever; and here, to leave also some small Pledge at least of my Respects to some of my particular Friends. To wit, the Honourable *William Bromley* Esq; now Principal Secretary of State; and to the Right Reverend Doctor *Francis Gastrell* Lord Bishop of *Chester*, and likewise to the Reverend Doctor *John Hammond*, and Doctor *William Stratford*, both of them Canons of *Christ Church* in

in *Oxon*, I give and bequeath to every one of them severally, five Broad *Carolus* Pieces of Gold, to Buy each of them a Ring, to Remember Me their poor Friend and Servant by. To all which the foregoing Particulars contained in this *Codicil* annexed to my Last Will and Testament, as part of the same; I do here set my Hand and Seal, this second Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen; and of Her present Majesty Queen *Anne's* Reign the Thirteenth, *Robert South*. Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said Doctor *Robert South*, as and for part of his Last Will and Testament; in the Presence of us who have Subscribed our Names in the Presence of the said Doctor *Robert South*. *James Eales, John Walworth, Richard Jones*.

A Second CODICIL to be Annexed to my Will, bearing Date on the Thirtieth of March, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, and to be accounted as part of the same.

WHEREAS I Robert South, Doctor in Divinity, and Canon of the Collegiate Church of *Christ* in *Oxon*, of King *Henry* the Eighth's Foundation, &c. have by my last Testament bearing Date as aforesaid, already disposed of all or most of my Real and a great part of my Personal Estate after my Decease, I do nevertheless by this *Codicil* (which I do hereby annex to my said Will, as part thereof,) bestow upon the Persons hereafter mentioned, these following Legacies.

Imprimis, I give to Mr. Robert South of *Northampton*, Attorney by Profession, and Son to my Half Brother Mr. *James South* deceased, my Father's Picture drawn by the Excellent Hand of *Vanzoeft*, and now hanging in my Lodgings at *Christ Church* in *Oxon*, as also a Gold Ring set with

with a blue stone called an *Amethyst*, with my Father's Arms curiously Engraved upon it; likewise a Pebble stone Artificially set in a Gold Ring (to be used as a Seal) with the same Coat of Arms Cast or Engraved in it; moreover an *Agate* of a pretty large size, and Handle Tipped with Silver, and bearing my Father's Arms also upon it; intended chiefly for the smoothing of Written Papers; and together with this, a small Silver Seal with the same Engravement upon it, and commonly made use of by me in the sealing of my Letters; which said Legacies whether he shall pass a due value upon them or no (for I have heard of his Character) I have thought fit to leave him as the properest things to remind him of the Worthy Father whom he is descended from, and the Family which he belongs to, and deserves with the utmost respect to be remembred by him.

Item, I give to Mrs. *Elizabeth Kirkland*, the Eldest Sister of the said *Robert South*, &c. my Wrought Bed, (the Work of my own dear Sister *Elizabeth*, long since deceased) together with the Table, Stands, Stools, Chairs

Chairs, Carpets, and Covers respectively belonging to them, as likewise a Walnut Tree Cabinet or Scritoire, first emptied of all Things that were in it, and standing in the back Chamber in my House at *Westminster*. Also I give her a Pair of Silver Candlesticks, with snuffing-Pan, Snuffers, and Extinguisher belonging to them; all Legacies I am sure (whatsoever else I had once intended her) are a great deal more than either she or most of her other Relations (so like one another for their constant disregard of me) do or can pretend to deserve of me.

Item, I give to the second Sister of the said *Robert South*, named *Rachael Partridge* (as I remember) one of my Silver Tankards, at the choice of my Executrix, and a Silver Cup with a Snake on the Cover of it, and two Silver Tumblers; also a Set of Damask Linnen, reckoning to a Set, one Table-Cloth, one Side-Board Cloath, and Twelve Napkins, and no more; and all at the choice of my Executrix *Mrs. Margaret Hammond*. And as for a Third Sister which he once had,

had, named *Jane* (she having been some Years since dead ; and having left behind her one only Daughter Named *Jane Taylor*) I give to the said *Jane Taylor* my Pearl Cabinet, and a Black Ebony Dressing-Box (all Things being first taken out of both of them) together with a curiously wrought Silver and Chrystal Candlestick, with the black Leathern Case belonging to it ; and likewise a Suit of Diaper Linnen belonging to me, and containing One Table-Cloth, one Side-Board-Cloth, Twelve Napkins, and no more ; but still all these, as well as those aforementioned, to be chosen only by my Executrix ; from whom also this Mrs. *Jane Taylor* is to receive Five Broad *Carolus* Pieces of Gold, with one Silver Coronation Medal of Queen *ANNE*, as a further Testimony of my good Will towards her.

Item, To Mrs. *Elizabeth Morris* of *Antegua* in the *West-Indies*, and Wife to Captain *Valentine Morris*, and Grand-Daughter to my Sister by the half-blood, Mrs. *Joan Hall* formerly living in the same Place, I give as follows, *viz.* Two Silver Porringers,
Six

Six Silver Forks and Salts, and with all those, Two very fine Pieces of wrought and gilt Plate, bought by me at *Dantzick*, in my Travels into *Poland*, with the two reddish Leathern Cases at first made for them, and fittest to preserve them in. These I say, I bequeath to her after my Death, in case they should not be given or deliver'd to her before. *Lastly*, To my near Kinswoman, and Cousin Germain by the Mother's side, Dame *Phebe Hardress* of *Kent*, I bequeath her Grandfather's and Grandmother *Berry's* Pictures at large, and with Gilt Frames, together with one of her Uncle Captain *John Berry*, and another of Mr. *Jeffery Berry*, drawn in his Minority, both of them of a less size and proportion, and likewise a Gold Seal Ring with her Grandfather's Arms neatly Engraven upon it; Things very proper, (if as Friendly accepted, as they are offer'd,) to remember her Worthy Family and Relations by. To all which, the foregoing Particulars contained in this second *Codicil* annexed to my Last Will and Testament, as part thereof, I do here set my Hand and Seal; on this second Day of *June*, in the Year of
our

our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen; and of Her present Majesty Queen *ANNE*'s Reign the Thirteenth, *Robert South*. Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said *Dr. Robert South*, as and for part of his Last Will and Testament; in the Presence of us who have here subscribed our Names, in the presence of the said Doctor *Robert South*; the Word (*Pictures*) being first interlined towards the bottom of the Leaf; next and immediately before this, *James Eales, John Walworth, Richard Jones*.

A Third CODICIL to be Annexed to my Last Will and Testament, and reckoned as part of the same.

WHEREAS I *Robert South* Doctor in Divinity, and Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in *Westminster*, have made my Last Will and Testament, bearing Date on the Thirtieth Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, and duly Signed and Sealed the same, and got it Attested and subscribed by Three sufficient

-sufficient Witnesses. And whereas after that, I likewise made and annexed two *Codicils* to the said Will, as part thereof, both of them bearing Date the Second Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourteen, and the same being then also Signed and Sealed by my Self, and duly Attested by Three sufficient Witnesses; these are to Certifie and make Known to all Men, that I do by these Presents Ratifie and Confirm my said Will, and the Two *Codicils* annexed to it, so Signed and Subscribed, as before expressed, as my True and Lawful Acts and Deeds, and fully containing my whole Mind, and last Will, in all the Particulars therein expressed, and that to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever. And accordingly, I do here set my Hand and Seal to this my Third *Codicil*, and annex it in like manner to my Last Will, adding it to the Two other *Codicils*, as equally part of my Will with them. And this I do on the Day of in the
 Year of our Lord and of
 Her present Majesty's Reign, the

The

The 24th Day of July, 1716.

Appeared Personally *Jonah Bowyer* of
 the Parish of *St. Bridget, London*, Book-
 seller; and being Sworn upon the Holy
 Evangelists, to Depose the Truth, did Depose
 as follows, *Viz.* That he was very well ac-
 quainted with the Reverend Doctor *Robert*
South, and his Manner and Character of
 Hand Writing, having often seen him
 Write. And having viewed the *Codicil* or
 Paper, Number Three, hereunto annexed,
 beginning thus. *A Third Codicil to be*
Annexed to my Last Will and Testament,
and reckoned as part of the same. Whereas I
Robert South Doctor in Divinity, and Pre-
 bendary of the Collegiate Church of *St.*
Peters in Westminster, &c. and ending thus.
 And Accordingly I do here set my Hand
 and Seal to this my *Third Codicil*, and
 annex it in like manner to my last Will,
 adding it to the two other *Codicils*, as
 equally part of my Will, with them:
 And this I do on the _____ Day of
 _____ in the Year of our Lord _____ and of
 Her present Majesty's Reign the _____
 does as he verily believes, and has been
 credibly

credibly inform'd, think the same to be all wrote with the proper Hand of the said Doctor Robert South. JONAH BOWYER. *Die predict. Dictus* Jonah Bowyer *juratus* *fuit super veritate Premissorum Coram me* Gulielmo Strahan Surrog. &c.





ORATIO Funeris

In Obitum

Reverendissimi & Clarissimi Viri

Roberti South, S. T. P.



QUOD Populis Humanita-
tis & Literarum Laude
florientibus solenne olim
fuit, ut celeberrimi cujus-
que Viri Exequiis Orati-
onem publice habendam instituerent,
quæ Defuncti Merita & Virtutes com-
C memoraret,

memoraret; ita nobis, alias si unquam, in præclarissimi hujus Viri Funere celebrando æquum est fieri. Neque dubito quin vos, Auditores, quotquot adestis, Honores omnes, qui ad mortuum deferri possunt, quibus Pompa funebris decorari potest & cohonestari, Venerando Viro, cujus Reliquias ante vos positas intuemini, facile concedatis. Vereor autem ne inter vos sint, qui indignentur Munus hoc mihi potissimum demandatum, & inique ferant, Viri doctissimi & Celeberrimi Oratoris Prædicationem à Puero, qui Literas Labris primoribus vix gustaverit, susceptam. At reputent illi, quod Romæ, quod Athenis, ubi præstantissimi vigeabant Oratores, non semper usitatum erat Homines doctos & disertos ad hoc Munus evocari; sed ii, qui forte fuerint Viro defuncto vel Affinitate vel Beneficiis devincti, hanc Provinciam libenter susceperunt, non Eloquentiæ confisi suæ, sed volentes aliquod grati Animi exhibere Testimonium.

Liceat

Liceat itaque Nobis pro Beneficiis acceptis, sine Invidia, Gratiam referre. Liceat insigni huic Viro supremum Munus persolvere, qui qualis quantusque fuit, nobis tamen aliquo Affinitatis Jure conjunctus est. Superbius quidem hoc à me & arrogantius diceretur, nisi Vir ille Venerandus, quamdiu in Vivis esset, idem hoc soleret lætus commemorare: nihil illi frequentius, nihil libentius in Ore erat, quam se in nostro bonarum Literarum Seminario Pueritiam posuisse, adeoque illum non pudebat ex his olim Umbraculis prodiisse, ut inter plurimos illos quos meruit & adeptus est Honores, hoc quotidie jactitaret: eoque dulciorem hujus loci Memoriam foveret, quia Semina hic feliciter jacta in Messem uberiores indies accreverunt: Et fane ita accreverunt, ut Schola nostra, doctissimorum Virorum fecunda Mater, à nullo unquam Alumno ampliorem duxerit gloriandi Materiam. Cum enim ex hoc Ludo literario in Ædem amplissimam præstantissimis hominum Ingeni-

is semper affluentem cooptaretur, primo inter suos inclaruit, mox etiam extra domesticos Parietes notus est, & tandem ita percrebuit doctrinæ illius & Eloquentiæ Fama, ut ex plurimis, qui tum ibi floruerunt, summi Ingeniû Homini- bus, unus ille deligeretur, qui celeberrimæ Academiæ Sensus explicaret & dicendo adornaret.

Insigni huic Muneri sustinendo quam par fuerit, si taceret hominum Memoria, satis testantur quæ in Ecclesiæ Emolumentum & Subsidium reliquit Scripta immortalia. Notum est Vobis, Auditores eruditissimi, quanta sit in illis, quam varia & multiplex Doctrina, quæ in differendo Subtilitas, qui in refutando Nervi, quod Ingeniû Acumen, quæ dicendi Copia & Majestas.

His armis instructus in Aciem prodit, Ecclesiæ & Monarchiæ acerrimus propugnator; hæc Tela in homines nefarios utrisque Perniciem molientes strenuus contorsit, neque Signa prius defecit,

ruit, quam graves illas Tempestates
restituto Règè sedatas, & restinctos Ma-
levolorum Impetus videret.

Jam tandem optimo cuique patebat
ad Honores Via; & inter multos, qui
æquissima ceperunt Meritorum Præmia,
insignis hic Vir, ad summam Dignita-
tem feliciter coactus est; iis scilicet in
Ædibus quibus eductus alitusque fuerat,
Sedes amplissimas obtinuit.

Dici fane vix potest, utrum Huic an
Ædibus illis hoc evenerit optatius. Hic
certe gaudebat, quod iis potissimum in
Locis, quos ex omnibus dilexit pluri-
mum, Fortunarum suarum Sedem collo-
caret; nec minus gaudebant illæ, exi-
mium hunc Virum, quem altera Pue-
rum fovisset, altera aluisset Adolescen-
tem, utrisque dehinc Ornamento fore &
Præsidio. Neque quidem eas hæc Spes
frustrata est. Siquidem immensa quam
egregius hic Vir per totum Vitæ Cur-
sum meritissimo reportavit Gloria, ad
illas etiam aliqua ex Parte redundavit,

Non enim Quietis se dedit, neque Vitam quam in publicum Commodum protraxit Deus, in Otio consumpsit. Quos subiret Labores, quas Vigiliis pertulerit, ex præclaris iis quas frequenter habuit Concionibus, ex doctissimis quos diligenter confecit Libris, Nemini ignotum est. Neque vestrum plerosque latere arbitror, quot & quantæ in illo extiterint Virtutes, quæ Vitam privatam ornant, neque tam celebrem quam bonum Virum indicant.

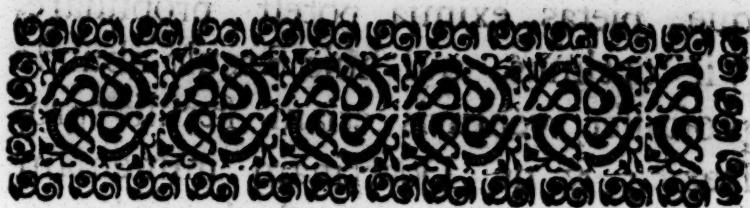
Quali animo in egenos fuerit, satis testantur quas intra unam parochiam munificentissime erogarit opes, quali erga Deum pietate (quanquam hoc in scriptis omnibus & vitæ quotidianæ usu videre erat) maxime declaravit sacrorum frequentatio: quamdiu enim per valetudinem licuit, horas Sacris celebrandis institutas ita observabat, ut Sol vices diurnas & nocturnas vix obiret constantior. At ingravescente paulatim Senectute, & Morte appropinquante,

quam

quam neque animi Dotes egregiæ, neque pietas eximia potest propulsare, Vir optimus, qui huic Sæculo abunde profuisset, venturis etiam sæculis prospexit; & ut Doctrinam immensam Libris mandatam posteris reliquit, sic opes quæ ex effusa largitione tandem superfuerant, ita legavit, ut Literarum Studio & pietati promovendæ per omne Ævum inservirent.

His Rebus confectis, quasi in aliorum Commoda omnino natus fuisset, è Vita excessit Vir præstantissimus, cujus dum inter illustrissimorum Virorum Tumulos conquiescent reliquiæ, Nemini secundus, Literatorum & Bonorum omnium sempiterna vigebit Memoria.





A

Funeral Oration

UPON THE
REVEREND and LEARNED
Dr. *SOUTH*.

THAT Solemnity, of celebrating in public Orations the extraordinary Merits of Great Men at their Funerals, which was establish'd of Old by those People, who were eminent for having Humanity, and Learning Flourish among them, can certainly never be more justly observ'd, than in our performance of the Obsequies of this Illustrious Person before

fore us. Nor do I in the least doubt but all you, who are present, perfectly agree, that all the Honours that can possibly be paid to the Venerable Person, whose Remains lie before you, by which his Funeral Rites may be made conspicuous and deservedly eminent, should be perform'd. And yet I must confess I am very apprehensive, that some among you may be offended, that I should be singled out particularly, to execute so awful and solemn a Duty, and bear it with some Indignation, that the Praise of so Learned and Celebrated an Orator should be undertaken by a Boy, who is scarce yet arriv'd to be Master of the very first Principles of Letters. But I would have these Gentlemen consider, that at *Rome* and at *Athens*, which were full of Great and Excellent Orators, Men of Learning and consummate Eloquence, were not always deputed to this Office, but such as were either related to the Deceased, or bound to him by some signal Obligations; who freely and voluntarily

luntarily undertook this Province, not at all confiding in their own Eloquence to do him Justice, but willing to lay hold of that Opportunity to give some Testimony of their Gratitude.

Give me therefore Leave, without Envy, to make some small Return for the Benefits I have receiv'd ; give me Leave to perform this last Office to the Excellent Person here Deceased ; who as Great and Eminent as he was, yet to him I must boast some Alliance. This indeed might be look'd on as a more proud and arrogant Assertion, had not this Reverend Gentleman, as long as he liv'd, seem'd in all his Discourse with a particular satisfaction freely and voluntarily to tell his Friends the same thing ; that he had his early Days instructed in our Seminary of Noble and Wholesom Arts ; and he was so far from being ashamed of taking his Rise in Learning from this School, that in the midst of those distinguishing Merits, of which he was Master, and those Dignities which

which he obtain'd, this only seem'd to give him satisfaction in that good Fortune, which had attended him, and that which made the Memory of this Place the more dear to him was, that here the Seeds were happily sown, which afterwards produc'd so noble and so daily increasing a Harvest. And this Harvest so increased, that our School, the fertile Mother of Learned Men, never receiv'd from any of her Children more ample Matter of Glory. For when this excellent Man was Elected into that College, † which has always been eminent for Men of extraordinary Parts, he first grew considerable among his Fellow Collegians, and soon extended the Knowledge of his admirable Talents beyond those narrow Bounds; and soon after the Fame of his Learning and Eloquence encreased so far, that out of many Persons of consummate Learning, who then flourish'd in the same House, he alone was chosen to explain, and by his Eloquence to

† Christ Church, Oxon.

adorn the Sense of that most Celebrated University,

And how fit for, and how equal he was to this great Work, if the Treachery of our Memory should leave the Fact in silence, yet we have sufficient Testimony from those admirable and Immortal Works which he has left written for the Benefit and Support of the Church. You must know, my most Learned Auditors, how great Learning, how various, and how manifold shines in them; you must know the Penetration, or if you will have the word, the Subtilty of his Arguments, the Force of his Refutations, the Poinancy of his Wit, and the Copiousness and Majesty of his Style. With these Arms this strenuous Defender of the CHURCH and the MONARCHY entred the Lists; these Weapons he with vigour darted against those abandon'd Wretches, who design'd the Destruction of both; nor did

did he quit the Field 'till he saw those terrible Conflicts appeas'd, and the Efforts of the Malignants restrain'd, by the Restoration of the KING.

Now at last the way lay open and easie to all Men of Worth for Honours, and among many, who receiv'd the most just Rewards of their Merits, this most excellent Person was happily compell'd to accept of the highest Dignity: That is, he obtain'd a chief Seat in those Places where he was Educated.

It is a difficult Matter to determine whether this was a happier, and more desir'd Event to him, or to those Houses. 'Tis certain he was infinitely satisfy'd, that he should settle his Fortunes particularly in those Places, which he lov'd above all others; and those perfectly rejoic'd, that this worthy Person, who had his Childhood Instructed in one, and his Youth accomplish'd in the

the other, should ~~thus~~ be an Ornament and Defence to both. Nor did these Hopes in the least deceive them, for that Immense Glory, which this Great Man justly acquir'd through the whole Course of his Life, they in some measure had their share of.

For he gave not himself up to Sloth and Inactivity, nor squandred away that Life which God, for the Public Benefit, made long, in a meer Idle Retreat. There is No Man surely can be Ignorant of this, since it is evident from the many excellent SERMONS he has given the World, and the other accurate BOOKS which he writ. Nor can I suppose it possible, that Most of You should be Ignorant of those numerous and sublime VIRTUES which were conspicuous in him, and which are an Ornament to a private Station, and prove not so much a popular, as a Good Man. There is no greater Proof of his Charitable Nature, and Compassion for the Poor, than his uncommon
and

and large Donations in one only * Parish;
 and of his Piety to God (altho' this was
 sufficiently evident in all his Writings,
 and the whole Conduct of his Life)
 his Constant frequenting the Offices of
 the Church is a sufficient Testimonial.
 For as long, as his Health would any
 way suffer him, he so Religiously observ'd
 the Hours set apart for the Divine Wor-
 ship of the Church, that the Sun was not
 more Constant to its Diurnal and Noctur-
 nal Revolutions. But Old Age growing
 sensibly upon him, and Death approach-
 ing, which neither the most admirable
 Endowments of Mind, nor the most e-
 minent Piety can put off, this excellent
 Man, who had been so great a Benefa-
 ctor to the present Age, * had also a ge-
 nerous Regard to Posterity. And as
 he left his immense Learning in his
 Books to the Ages to come, so he dis-
 posed of that Fortune, which his ex-
 tensive Liberality had left him, in such

* *Islip, in Oxfordshire.*

a manner, that it should for ever contribute to the Study of Learning, and the promotion of Piety.

All this being done, as if he had been Born entirely for the Benefit of others, this most excellent Person departed this Life, and while his *Sacred Reliques* are deposited among the Tombs of the most Illustrious, his NAME will ever Live and Flourish in the Memory of the Learned and the Virtuous.



F I N I S

